Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture

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Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture

Edited by

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and Wim van Anrooij

BRILL

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We fondly remember
Louis Peter Grijp
(1954–2016)

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Acknowledgements

Notes on the Editors

Wim van Anrooij

is Professor of Dutch literature up to Romanticism at the University of Leiden. His books include *Spiegel van ridderschap: Heraut Gelre en zijn ere-redes* (1990), *Helden van weleer: De Negen Besten in de Nederlanden (1300–1700)* (1997), *Literarische Kleinformen im Spiegel mittelniederländischer Sammelhandschriften* (2009), and *De Mond der Waarheid* (2011). He is a member of the Advisory Board of *Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture*, and of the Editorial Board of *Spiegel der Letteren*, the series *Middeleeuwse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden* and the *Bert van Selm-lezing*. He is curator of the Bibliotheca Thysiana (Leiden).

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List of Illustrations

Introduction

Louis Peter Grijp and Dieuwke van der Poel

Collected in this volume is the work of a group of scholars expert in the early modern song culture of a specific European country or region. While each scholar might also know something about the song culture of countries other than their own, not one is at home in all of them. This reflects the fragmented state of research in this field, a field different from the study of ballads and other forms of traditional music for which international structures do exist.[1] This book intends to be a first step in the comparative study of early modern song cultures throughout Europe. Such a comparative approach might highlight surprising differences, but certainly surprising similarities as well, with similar song types and similar practices differing only in language and local context. Whether those similarities will be enough to justify speaking of 'an early modern European song culture' depends on how we define this concept.

Firstly: what do we mean by 'songs'? In this book we use the word in a broad manner: songs are essentially what ordinary people sing. We approach 'song' from the perspective of disciplines such as European ethnology and cultural anthropology, and include under that concept folk and pop songs, shanties, broadside ballads, children's songs and lullabies, psalms and hymns, and many other functional kinds of song. Specifically, we are interested most in songs which do not require much musical expertise to perform; even being able to read notation is usually not required. Thus simplicity is an important characteristic, both for the music and the text.

In our definition we use 'ordinary people' in the sense of people with a limited education or with limited means or power, belonging to the non-elite: craftsmen and peasants, as Peter Burke called them. An alternative is to speak about 'songs everyone can sing' or 'songs everyone knows'. This reminds of 'low culture', but 'everyone' also implies people who feel at home in 'high culture'—for instance when they sing along with 'Happy birthday to you' in appropriate situations. And that reminds in its turn of Burke's well-known asymmetrical

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1 Examples are the annual International Ballad Conference organised by the Kommission für Volksdichtung; the annual journal *Song and Popular Culture*, published by the Zentrum fur Populäre Kultur und Musik in Freiburg in Breisgau; the International Workshop on Folk Music Analysis, and other initiatives.

dichotomy of elite and popular culture: the elite have easy access to popular culture, but not the other way around: 'ordinary people' don't have access to elite culture, among others because of their limited education.[2]

Within the parameters of our broad definition, 'art songs' pose a special problem because they travel between social levels. In the first instance, 'art songs' are made by poets and composers for the elite. Think of the French *airs de cour* written by court composers such as Pierre Guédron and Antoine de Boësset, and their English equivalents, *ayres* by John Dowland and Thomas Campion among others, or the polyphonic French *chansons* and Dutch *liede-kens* by Clemens non Papa, or the German *Tenorlieder* of Ludwig Senfl—all famous genres in official Western music history. Typically, these elite songs were inspired by popular song, and sometimes they even ended up becoming popular songs, precisely because of the popular style in which they had been written. But not all of them are easy to sing, and especially the polyphonic song genres require at a minimum the ability to read music. For the early modern period, that excluded most common people. We allude to the special problem of 'art songs' by using the word 'essentially' in our definition: if 'songs are essentially what ordinary people sing' art songs are not excluded, although they have a special place in the wide song spectrum.

For literary historians, singing and music belong to a dimension of songs beyond the text which is their focus of inquiry, and constitute a dimension they ignore in part because they do not always grasp it. Yet, the performance component of singing is an essential element of song, as we define it, and literary historians, too, would benefit by concerning themselves with that element. Complicating the matter is the fact that it is not always easy to establish whether a historical text was sung or not—although for experts there are more clues than one would expect at first glance.[3] Another sticking point is that many songs sung by common people do not belong to literature in the traditional sense of a cultural expression of the elite. Still, there are notable exceptions: for instance, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft and Joost van den Vondel, the most esteemed Dutch poets of the seventeenth century, wrote a great number of songs for the same functional purposes that inspired common people to make and sing them, such as expressing and communicating amorous or religious emotions.

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2   Burke P., *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: 1978).

3   Bruin M. de – Oosterman J., with the assistance of Strijbosch C. and others (eds.), *Repertorium van het Nederlandse lied tot 1600 / Repertory of Dutch Songs until 1600*, 2 vols. (Ghent – Amsterdam: 2001) vol. I, 13–14; 25–26 provides useful indications for identifying a text as song.

We intend this broad interpretation of 'song' to be workable across disciplines as well as national scholarly perspectives, a concept of use to ethnologists, musicologists and literary historians regardless of the country from which the scholars come or the national traditions to which the songs they study belong. Defining a regional or national song culture as the total of cultural practices in which such songs play a role within a particular region or country, we must then compare the song cultures of different regions and nations of Europe in order to answer the question as to whether we are justified in speaking of 'an early modern European song culture'. If we find enough essential similarities and analogies throughout the continent, then indeed we may do so.

Working out this seemingly simple approach, however, is not an easy task. We hope this book may serve as a first step and that its three main focus areas—identity, intertextuality, performance—offer fruitful clues for comparison. In this Introduction we will first give a survey of possible subthemes of those three focus areas for a single country, the Netherlands, and then introduce the case studies in this book, devoted to other countries as well. As we will discover, for the authors the focus areas are very much intertwined. That makes it all the more necessary to first present the areas one by one, each with clear subthemes. In the process we use examples from only the Netherlands. In principle we could have chosen any other European country or region as our point of departure, but the situation in the Netherlands has three elements which make it ideal for the discussion at hand.

First: in the early modern period a very lively song culture existed in the Netherlands, as evidenced by the many hundreds of printed songbooks and other sources that have come down to us. Second: this flood of material has been well documented, starting with early inventories in the nineteenth and early 20th centuries,[4] continuing with the extensive card files of the Dutch Folksong Archive in the second half of the twentieth century, and translated to digital form in the present, large-scale Nederlandse Liederenbank or Dutch Song Database of the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam (www.liederenbank.nl). As of 2015 this Database contains metadata of around 42,800 early modern songs, written or printed between 1500 and 1800, in the Database's total of 170,000 Dutch songs from all periods.[5] The symposium from which this volume originates was organised in the context of the digitization project Dutch Songs

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4 Notably the listings in Willems J.F. (ed.), *Oude Vlaemsche liederen* (Ghent: 1848) xxxviii–lviii, and Scheurleer D.F., *Nederlandsche Liedboeken. Lijst der in Nederland tot het jaar 1800 uitgegeven liedboeken* (The Hague: 1912–1923; repr. 1977).

5 Figures per March 8, 2015, with thanks to Martine de Bruin, Meertens Institute (Amsterdam).

On Line, during which 50,000 song texts from the period to 1900 were made available via the Dutch Song Database. In addition, a great deal of knowledge about early modern Dutch song culture has been compiled in the past decades by individual researchers, often cooperating in projects around the Dutch Song Database. A third reason for choosing the Netherlands as a starting point is the central geographical position of this country in Western Europe, between the dominating cultural centres of France and England, from which much musical influence was received during the early modern period.

Identity

For song culture, social or group identity is the most relevant kind. Two observations support this position: the first is that singing is primarily a social activity, performed by groups of people, the second that singing together leads to a feeling of belonging to a particular group and therefore may contribute to the formation and maintenance of a social identity. An important proponent of the first hypothesis—singing as a primarily social activity—was the German folk music theorist Ernst Klusen, who proposed the word 'Gruppenlied' (group song) as an alternative for 'Volkslied' (folk song). Klusen distinguished between primary and secondary groups.[6] In a primary group all members may know each other and act together; examples of such face-to-face groups are church congregations and soccer clubs. Secondary groups are larger, consisting of people who share an ideal or belief or are otherwise linked together, without necessarily being able to know every other member of the group; examples would be ideological groups (Socialists, Catholics), or national groups (the French or the Germans). Applied to song culture: in primary groups people sing songs together; in secondary groups they also sing the same songs, but not necessarily at the same time and in the same place. A further distinction can be made between institutional groups, such as a school class, a group of scouts, a company of soldiers, and spontaneous groups, e.g. visitors to a pub, or children on a playground.

　　When we apply Klusen's theory of singing groups to the early modern period the question arises which singing groups were active. Limiting ourselves to the early modern Netherlands, we arrive at the following:

6　Klusen E., *Singen. Materialien zu einer Theorie* (Regensburg: 1989) 162ff; see also: Grijp L.P., "Zangcultuur", in Dekker T. – Roodenburg H. – Rooijakkers G. (eds.), *Volkscultuur. Inleiding in de Nederlandse etnologie* (Nijmegen: 2000) 337–380; Whiteley S. – Bennett A. – Hawkins S. (eds.), *Music, Space and Place. Popular Music and Cultural Identity* (Aldershot – Ashgate: 2004).

- Church congregations at the primary level, and on the secondary level the religions or denominations to which they belonged, such as Catholics and Protestants. Protestants can be further subdivided into Calvinists, Mennonites, and Lutherans [Fig. 1.1]. Each of these groups also subdivided: among the Calvinists were Remonstrants and Contraremonstrants, Pietists, and Walloons, while the Mennonites were divided into Old and Young Frisians, Old and Young Waterlanders, and Old and Young High-Germans. Freemasons also sang their own songs. This great religious differentiation in the early modern Netherlands is reflected in each group's song repertoires.
- Political groups (often with a specific religious affiliation) such as the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish *Geuzen* ('Beggars') who started the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish King in the sixteenth century, sang their aggressive *geuzenliederen* ('Beggars's songs'). In the eighteenth century, Orangists sang songs in favour of the Stadtholder (who was a Prince of Orange), while anti-Orangists or 'Patriots' sang songs against him. But there were also songs expressing love for the fatherland without specific political orientation, in which the whole nation of the Dutch Republic was addressed to as one political group, especially in times of war [Fig. 1.2].
- Age cohorts form another category group. Young people, especially those of a marriageable age, were the target of many songbook dedications. Other songbooks were directed specifically at adults and compiled for them. Children, too, formed a group for which songs or songbooks were made. Students, too, can be regarded as a category of young people with their own song repertoire.
- Geographically local groups form another identifiable category, often targeting the young at the same time: many printed songbooks were dedicated to the beautiful girls of Amsterdam, Haarlem or other cities.
- Groups of people celebrating a feast, such as a fair ('kermesse'), a wedding, or Shrove tide (Carnival, Mardi gras).
- Chambers of rhetoric, whose members wrote and performed not only poems and plays, but also songs, even in inter-city contests.
- Groups of individuals in the same trade or profession, such as sailors or soldiers.

Did these groups articulate their identity through singing, and if so, how? With 'articulating their identity' we mean 'expressing their belonging to a group, or being a member of a group, through words or other means'. With respect to lyrics, it was the song texts through which singing groups articulated their identity. Often the we-form was used, such as in 'We Beggars will sing [...] that

FIGURE 1.1   *Joachim van den Heuvel*, Calvinist Service in a Village Church (*1640–1649*). *Oil on panel. Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, RMCC s28. The congregation is singing a psalm, directed by a precentor (often the sexton, or the schoolmaster). No organ for accompaniment is visible, and likely there was none. According to contemporary accounts, unaccompanied congregational singing of this kind was quite terrible.*
IMAGE © MUSEUM CATHARIJNECONVENT UTRECHT.

God has given us His mighty blessing',[7] though also the you-form was possible: 'Be cheerful, you sweet young youth, Everywhere is merriness, so use your time well'.[8] Sometimes the norms and values of the group were explicitly expressed

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7   'Wy Geuskens willen nu singhen, [. . .] Dat ons Godt ghebenedijt / Nu heeft ghegeven reyn, / Zijnen Seghen machtich,' *Een nieu Guese Liede Boecxken* (s.l.: [1576]) 45.

8   'Weest nu verheucht, ghy soete Jonge Jeucht / het is nu al In vreucht, dus wilt u tyt gebruijcken' MS Leiden GA 1473 [1620–1625], 3.
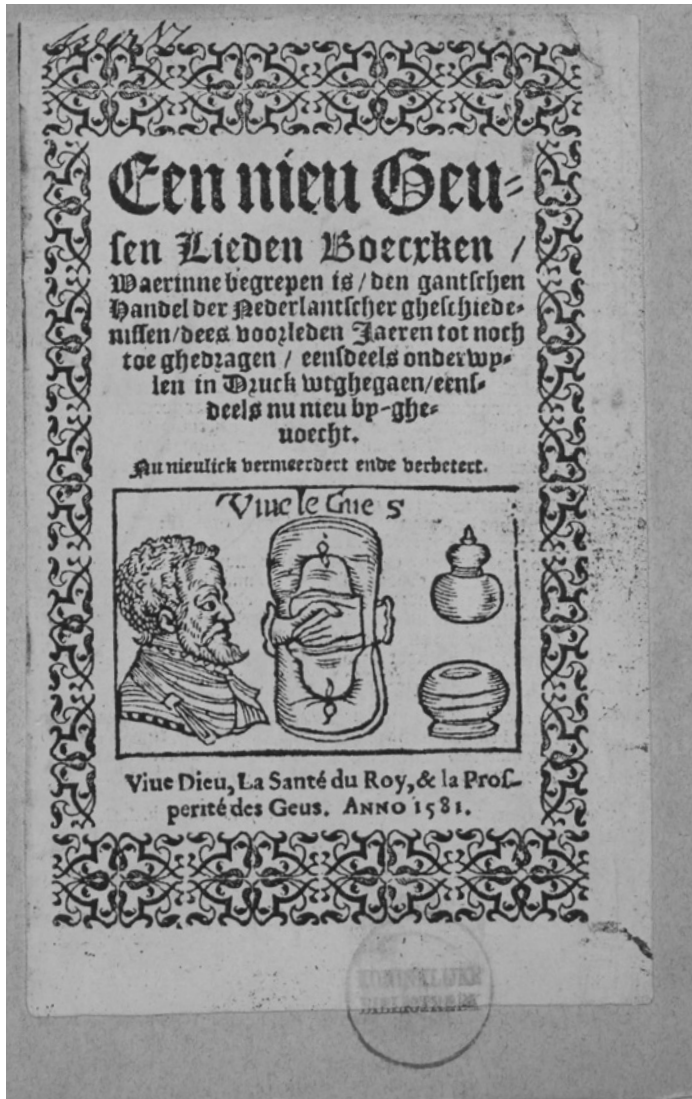
FIGURE 1.2   Een nieu Geusen Lieden Boecxken (*'A New Beggars's Songbook'*)
             (*s.l., n.p.: 1581*) *title page. The Hague, Royal Library, 1714 E 20. An*
             early edition of the Geuzenliedboek (*'Beggars's Songbook'*),
             showing the battle cry 'Vive le Gues' ('Viva the Beggar'), a portrait
             of the Spanish king Philip II, and Beggar symbols such as two
             clasped hands holding a double beggar's pouch, a begging bowl,
             and a gourd. These 'Beggars' were Netherlandic noblemen whose
             petition against persecution was refused and regarded as an act of
             'beggars' (French 'gueux'). They took this as a honorary nickname.
             Early European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.

in the song text, e.g. in the songs of religious groups. It is possible to identify the group in which a given early modern song text was sung from such expressions, articulating the identity of the group in a more or less recognizable way.

Melody, too, was a way of expressing a group's identity. Some tunes were particularly known in certain groups. For instance, Calvinist poets wrote many song texts to the tune of Genevan Psalms, which were characteristic for their denomination. So the use of a Genevan psalm melody may reveal that a song was written for or sung by Calvinists, although Mennonites or Geuzen ('Beggars') did use such melodies as well. Beggars reused melodies, writing new Beggars's songs to the tunes of earlier, successful Beggars's songs.

But the most helpful entity for our purpose is songbooks. Numerous examples exist for the period of the Dutch Republic (seventeenth–eighteenth centuries), especially printed songbooks. Often group identity is already prominent in the title, e.g. *Nieu Geusen liedtboecxken* ('New Beggars's Songbook', many editions from c. 1574 to 1687). Local songbooks can be recognized by fanciful titles such as *Vermeerderde Amsterdamsche Vreughde-stroom* ('Enlarged Amsterdam River of Joy', 1654), *Haerlemsche Duyn-Vreucht* ('Haarlem Dune Pleasure', 1636), *Spaerens Vreuchden-Bron* ('Sparen's Source of Joy', 1646, also a reference to Haarlem as it lies on the river Sparen), and *Dordrechts Lijstertje* ('Dordrecht Trush', 1624), to mention just a few [Fig. 1.3–1.6].[9] Local songbooks were printed and distributed only or originally in their towns of origin. Most of these songbooks functioned within local youth groups, but there were also local songbooks for adults, such as *Haerlems Oudt Liedtboeck* ('Haarlem Old Songbook', c. 1640), which transmitted an older song repertoire and carried the traditional local symbol of the city's arms on the title page.

Further, we know of religious local songbooks, such as *'t Kleyn Hoorns-Lietboeck* ('Small Hoorn Songbook', 1644), with a view of the town of Hoorn at the bottom of the title page, and *Het Ryper Liedtboecxken* ('De Rijp Songbook', 1636), with Jesus and his disciples walking through the fields around the village of De Rijp. This refers to the Gospel of John, chapter 4 verse 35, where Jesus says to his disciples (we quote the King James Version): 'Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest.' 'White' (ripe) is *rijp* in Dutch, so here Jesus's words are interpreted as referring to the name of the prosperous village De Rijp [Fig. 1.7–1.8].

The titles of these religious local songbooks do not mention the targeted denomination, but such information can often be gleaned from the pre-

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9   Grijp L.P., "De Rotterdamsche Faem-Bazuyn. De lokale dimensie van liedboeken uit de Gouden Eeuw", *Volkskundig Bulletin* 18 (1992) 23–78.

FIGURE 1.3   Vermeerderde Amsterdamsche Vreughde-stroom (*'Enlarged Amsterdam River of Joy'*), part 2 (*Amsterdam, C.J. Stichter: 1655; 2nd ed.*) *title engraving. The Hague, Royal Library, 174 F 40. Young Amsterdam ladies out boating on the river Amstel, singing amorous songs from the songbook (of which this is the title engraving), held by the girl on the left, accompanied by another girl on a lute. At the stern the city flag of Amsterdam.*
IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

liminaries, or from the name of the author, who may be known as the minister of a particular congregation. For example, we have seen that on closer examination the songbooks from Hoorn and De Rijp show themselves to be Mennonite. Still, because titles of religious songbooks, both local and non-local, rarely mention a specific religion or denomination, more research is necessary to establish the group for which a particular book was intended. Nevertheless, the connection between congregations and songbooks was very strong. The books clearly marked their identities. In the dynamic religious landscape of seventeenth-century Holland, congregations might be split or combined, and such developments were reflected in songbooks. When in North Holland three Mennonite congregations merged, the worshippers had to carry three hymnals to church—until a new, combined songbook could be determined upon.
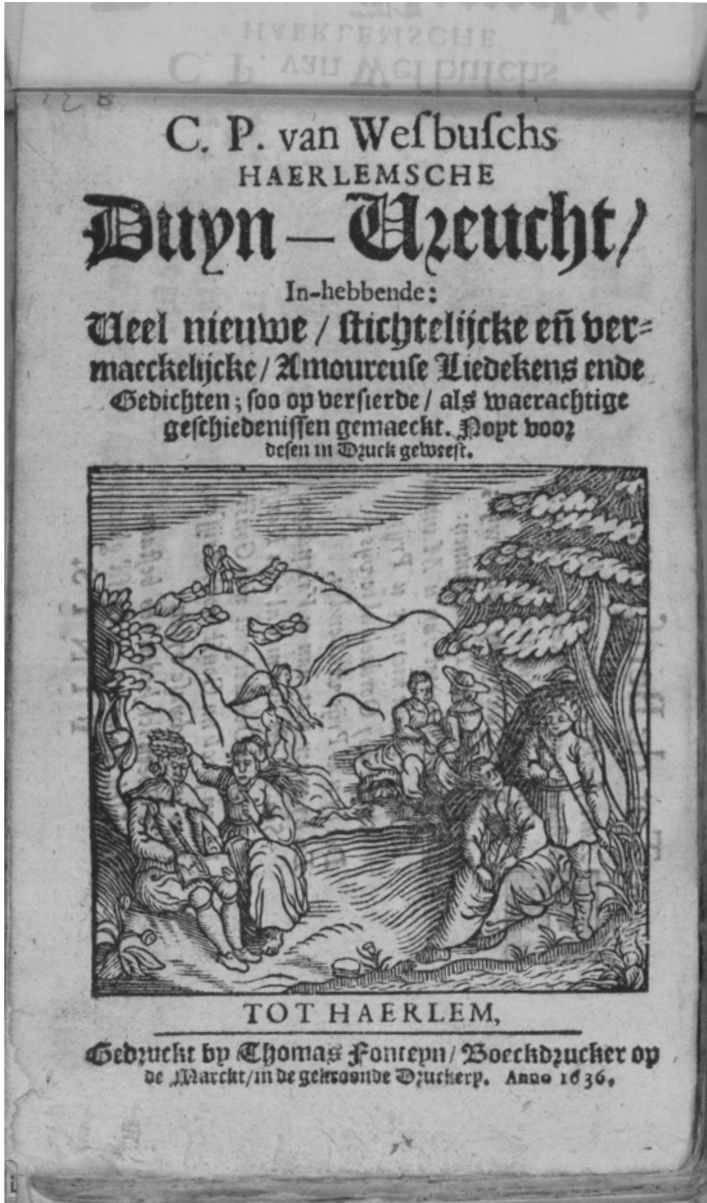
FIGURE 1.4   *C.P. van Wesbusch*, Haerlemsche Duyn-Vreucht (*'Haarlem Dune Pleasure'*) *(Haarlem, Th. Fonteyn: 1636). The Hague, Royal Library, 1 C 17. While the poet is being crowned with a wreath of laurels, Haarlem young people are enjoying the dunes. One couple is actually singing from the songbook (in the middle, slightly towards the right side). Early European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.*
IMAGE REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

FIGURE 1.5   Spaerens Vreuchden-Bron (*'Sparen's Source of Joy'*) (*Haarlem, M. Zegerman:*
                    1646) *title engraving. The Hague, Royal Library, 174 F 41. Haarlem young people out*
                    boating on the river Sparen (or Spaarne), with the city flag at the stern. At the left
                    a couple sings from the songbook, probably accompanied on a recorder or a Dutch
                    shawm ('oboe').
                    IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

The last type of printed songbook we wish to mention here refers to a pro-
fession, for example the sailor in *De vrolyke Nederlandsche Matroos, zingende*
een uitgezogt getal van Nieuwe oorlogs-zangen, en verscheidene andere, alle op
de Nieuwste en hedendaagse wyzen ('The merry Dutch Sailor, singing a fine
selection of new war-songs and a number of others, all to the newest and cur-
rent tunes', 1781) [Fig. 1.9]. As often is the case, the book has a dedication that
informs us about its intention:

> To Lovers of the Art of Singing
>
> Look, a Dutch Sailor,
> Whose heart is overwhelmed with full joys,
> And who is always singing
> About the virtues of Dutch heroes.
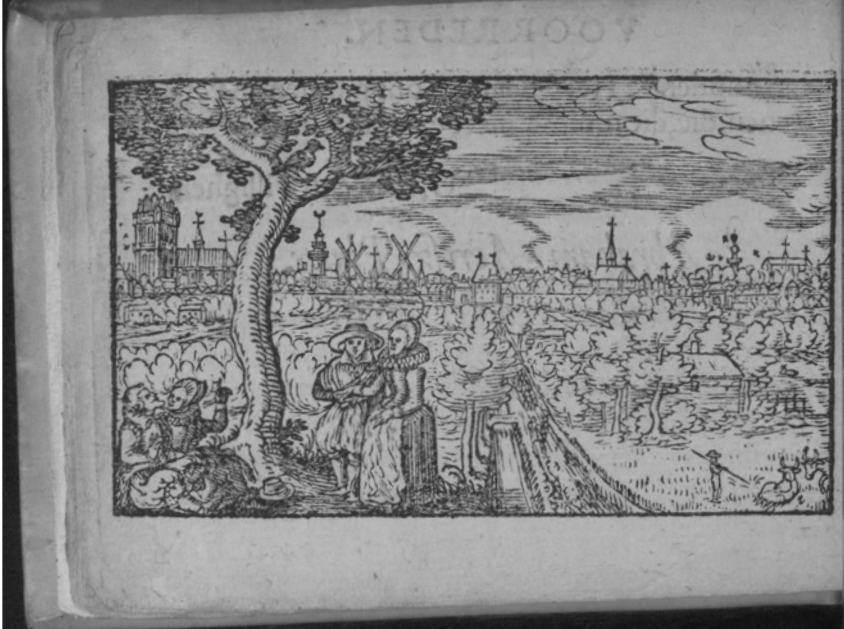
FIGURE 1.6   *A.A. Plater*, Liedt-boecxken, ghenaemt Dordrechts Lijstertje (*'Songbook called*
Dordrecht Thrush') (*Dordrecht, D. van Rybeeck: 1624*). *The Hague, Royal Library, 174*
H 9. The thrush is singing from the tree under which two young couples enjoy nature
outside the city. At the very left the medieval Grote Kerk ('Great Church'). Early
European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.
IMAGE REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

We kindly offer him to you,
In order to sing his songs,
His bravery in war and heroic deeds,
Or other fine things.

So buy these collected songs,
It will not dissatisfy you,
And sing to the fame of the heroes
For a number of merry days.[10]

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10   'Aan de Liefhebbers der Zangkonst Zie hier een Nederlands Matroos, / Wiens hart
met volle vreugden / Is overstelpt, en die altoos / Zingt Neêrlands Helden-deugden.
// Die bieden wy u Vriendlyk aan, / Om zyn Gezang' te Zingen, / Zyn Oorlogsmoed en
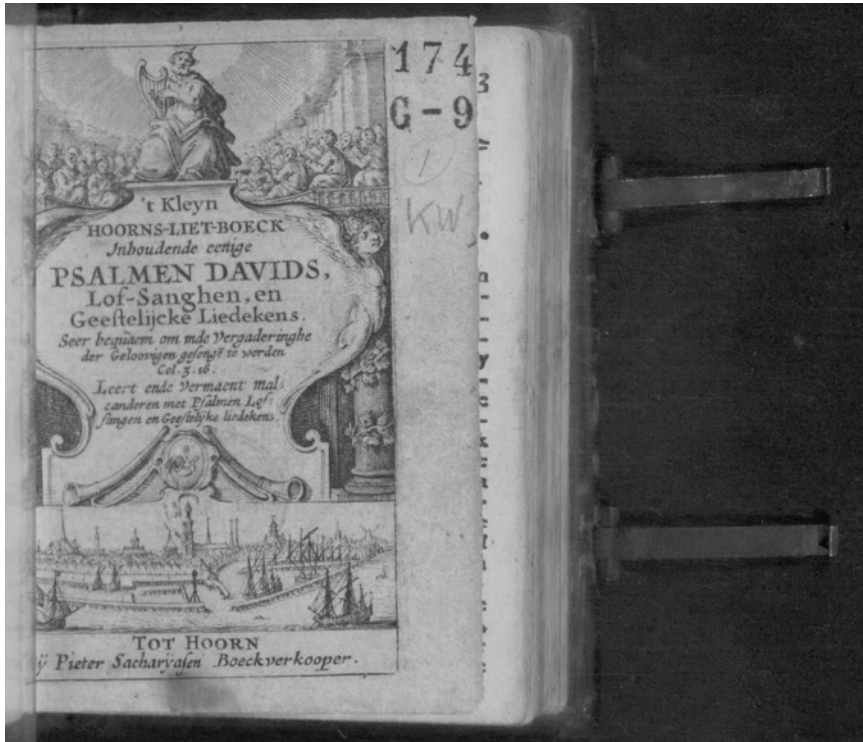
FIGURE 1.7   't Kleyn Hoorns-Liet-boeck ('*Small Hoorn Songbook*') (*Hoorn, P.Z. Hartevelt: 1644*).
                    The Hague, Royal Library, 174 G 9. This religious local songbook shows a view of the
                    harbour and the town of Hoorn. Early European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.
                    IMAGE REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

Another example is *De vermakelijke Buys-Man, Ofte koddige Boots-Geselletje*
('The entertaining Bussman, Or droll Sailor', 8th ed. Amsterdam: Casparus
Loots-Man, 1694). A *buis* (or 'buss' in English) is a type of herring-boat, and in
fact the first song of 'The entertaining Bussman' is about the herring fishery of
Enkhuizen, in the seventeenth century a flourishing town on the Zuiderzee
(now IJsselmeer). But there are also songs about sailors leaving for the East, i.e.
the East Indies. Although this eighth edition was printed in Amsterdam, it is
quite possible that the songbook originated in Enkhuizen, one of the six cities
participating in the Dutch East-India Company [Fig. 1.10].

———————

        Heldendaên / Of andre fraaije dingen. // Koopt dan deez' Zangen by malkaar, / Het zal u
        niet mishaagen, / En Zing tot roem der Helden-schaar, / Een aantal blyde dagen'.
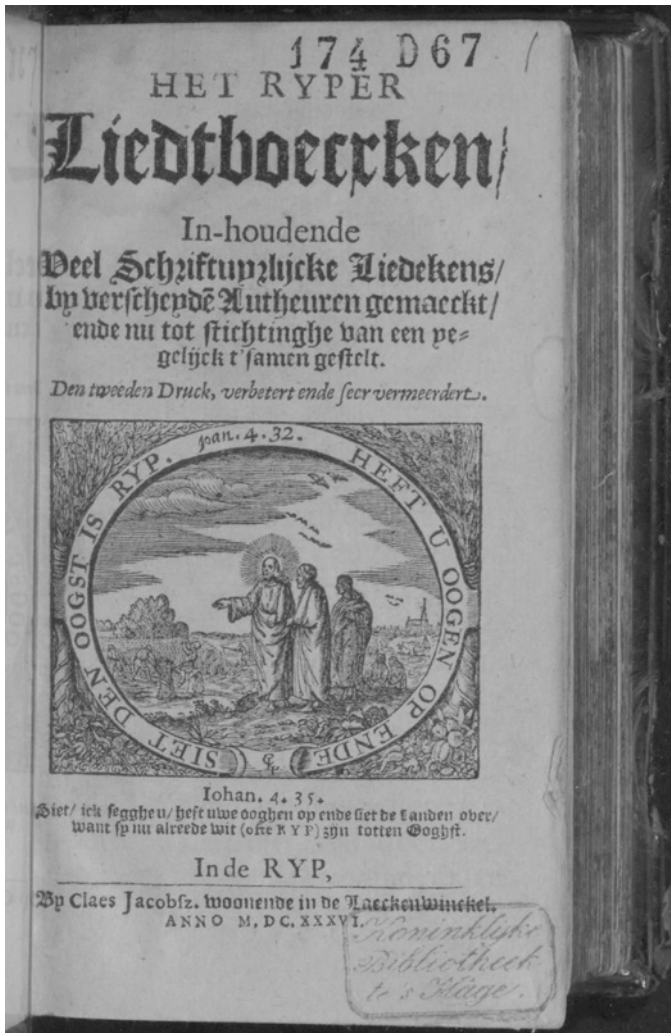
FIGURE 1.8   Het Ryper Liedtboecxken (*'De Rijp Songbook'*) (*De Rijp, C.
Jacobsz.: 1636*). *The Hague, Royal Library, 174 D 67. Jesus and his
disciples walk through the fields around the prosperous village
of De Rijp, saying: 'Siet, ick segghe u, heft uwe ooghen op ende
siet de landen over, want sy nu alreede wit (*ofte* RYP*) zijn totten
Ooghst.' ('Behold, I say unto you, lift up your eyes and look on
the fields; for they are white (*or* RIPE*) already to harvest'—John
4:35). The insertion 'ofte* RIJP*' ('or ripe') as an explanation of
the unusual 'wit' ('white') in the Dutch bible text underlines the
double reference to harvesting as well as to the village. Early
European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.*
IMAGE REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF ROYAL LIBRARY
THE HAGUE.
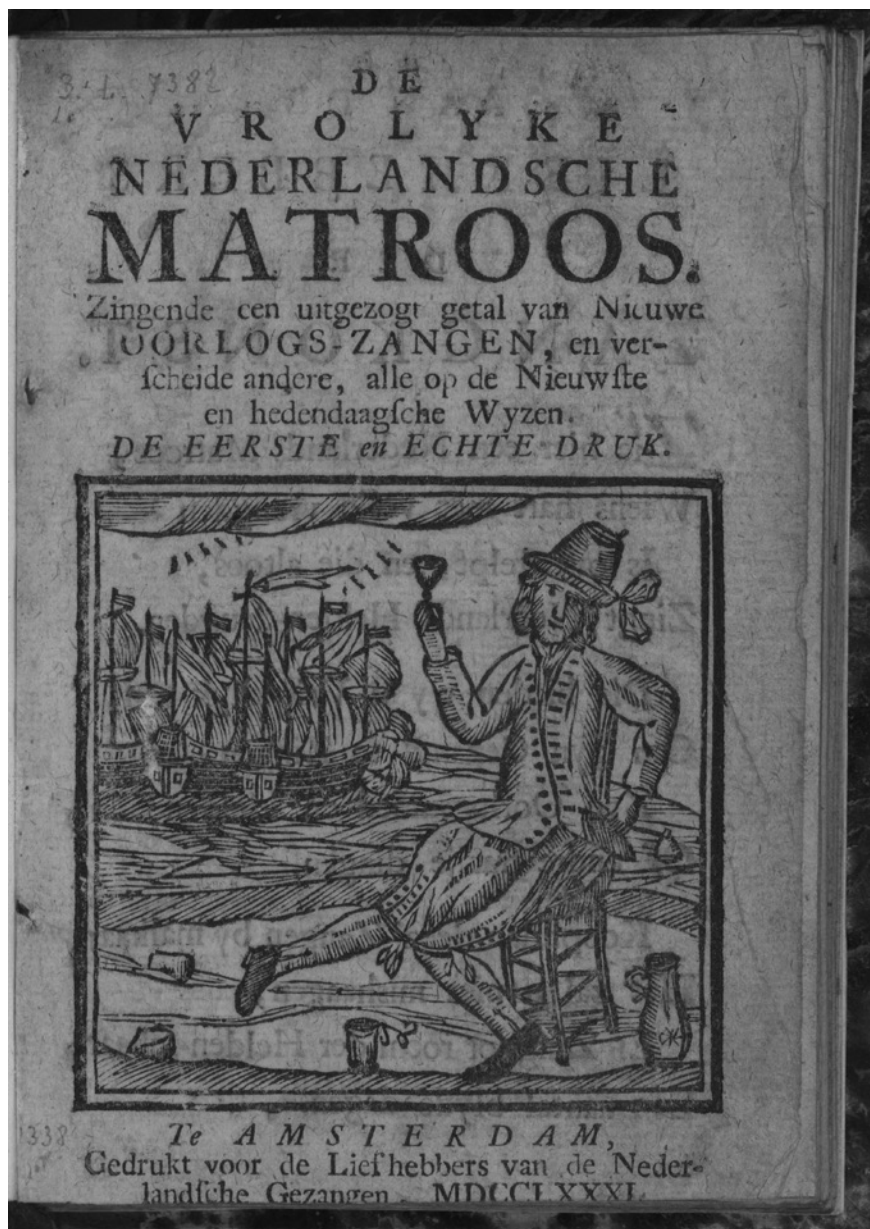
FIGURE 1.9   De vrolyke Nederlandsche Matroos (*'The Merry Dutch Sailor'*) (*Amsterdam,*
n.p.: 1781). Ghent University Library, B.L. 7382. A clearly tipsy sailor drinks and sings
while his fleet waits in the background.
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GHENT.

De Vermakelijcke
BUYS-MAN,
OFTE
Koddige Boots-gesellettje:
Singende
Veel vermaekelijcke Visschers ende Ma-
troose Liedjes, als ook verscheyde nieuwe Amou-
reuse Herders en Vreugde-Gesangen.

Den twaelfden Druk / met nieuwe Rijm-Veersen
vermeerdert en verbetert.

t'AMSTERDAM,
Bp de Erve van de Wed: GYSBERT DE GROOT,
Boekverkoopster op de Nieuwe-Dijk/
in de Groote Bijbel/ Anno 1737.

FIGURE 1.10   De vermakelijcke Buys-Man, ofte Koddige Boots-geselletje (*The
                Entertaining "Buys-Man", or Droll Sailor*) (*Amsterdam, Wed. G. de
                Groot: 1737*). *The Hague, Royal Library, 3 E 42. The 'bussman'
                ('a sailor on a "buss": a type of herring-boat) stands on the shore of
                the Zuyderzee with his equipment before him on the ground.*
                IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

Up to now we have been discussing only songbooks which appeared in print. *Written* songbooks may also reflect the repertoire of a singing group. They contain the personal selections of one or more people who may have sung the songs within a group, or even in several groups. For example, a manuscript from the seventeenth century that initially reflects the life of a student from Leuven, later on shows songs for the initiation of several people into monasteries and beguinages.[11] Obviously, the manuscript reflects different stages from one person's biography.

A special category of song manuscripts is formed by the *alba amicorum* of noble women, known from the late sixteenth century on. Friends and visitors, sometimes including those wooing the *album*'s owner, entered songs and other poems into it, thereby reflecting the makeup and atmosphere of her social circle.

Of course, people belong to more than just one social group. Their multilayered social identity may be expressed in their personal repertoire, consisting of songs characteristic of the different groups to which they belong.

Intertextuality

One form of intertextuality is specifically characteristic for song culture: the writing of *contrafacta*, i.e. new songs written to pre-existing melodies. To be more precise: a contrafactum is a song, the text of which has been written to a pre-existing melody. Often the poet of a contrafactum takes over not only the melody but also ideas or phrases from the model. This is intertextuality in its purest form. Louis Grijp has worked out a taxonomy for this borrowing, based on the extent to which contrafacta borrowed elements from their models.[12] Borrowing may happen at three levels: at the level of music, of form (i.e. stanza form), and of text (the literary content). At the text level borrowing may be limited to the first line or lines, or to the first stanza. This is called 'initial borrowing'. The remainder of the new song text then follows its own path. 'Continuous borrowing,' in contrast, refers to cases in which the text follows the entire original, through all stanzas. This might occur when a poet turns a love song into a religious one: s/he keeps the original words wherever possible, changing only what does not fit the new purpose. A third way of borrowing is

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11   The manuscript is in the Ghent University Library: see Moelans P., *Handgeschreven liederen. Wereldlijke liedcultuur in liedhandschriften (Zuidelijke Nederlanden, ca. 1600–ca. 1800) uit de Gentse universiteitsbibliotheek*, Ph.D. dissertation (Leuven University: 2009) 196.

12   Grijp L.P., *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw. Het mechanisme van de contrafactuur* (Amsterdam: 1991).

'thematic borrowing': not the words but an idea, or even just a mood, are carried from the model to its contrafactum.

The following example demonstrates 'continuous borrowing'. The model is a song from a pastoral play by Pieter Hooft, *Granida* (1605), sung by a shepherdess fleeing into the woods from a lascivious shepherd, hoping that he will not find her. Hiding in the woods, she sings:

> Hooft
> 1.
> The fierce rays of the sun
> I shelter from in the woods;
> If these woods could talk,
> How much love it would tell about![13]

The contrafactum is a religious song by the Calvinist minister Jodocus van Lodenstein, written in 1659. He imitates the shepherdess as much as possible:

> Lodenstein
> 1.
> The fierce rays of the sun
> I shelter from in the shadow;
> Ah! If this woods could talk,
> How much grief it would tell about![14]

Lodenstein's singer is in a sad mood and is seeking comfort in nature, in the woods, comfort not from the typical pastoral shepherd, but from the Holy Shepherd, from God. This becomes clear in the third stanza:

> Lodenstein
> 3.
> Only my Shepherd always sends
> His mind to old love;
> Although refusing may last long,
> His love lasts persistently.[15]

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13   'Het vinnich stralen van de Son / Ontschuil ick in 't bosschage; / Indien dit bosje clappen con, / Wat melden 't al vryage!'

14   'Het vinnig stralen van de Son, / Ontschuyl ick in dees' lommer; / Oh! Of dit bosje klappen con, / Wat melden 't al een commer?'

15   'Alleen mijn Herder altijt stuirt, / Na d'oude liefd sijn sinnen: / Of 't weygren lang hertneckig duyrd', / Stantvastig duirt sijn minnen'.

Lodenstein follows Hooft's model closely, although he reverses the meaning of what the shepherdess is singing:

> Hooft
> 3.
> A lascivious lad always sends
> His mind to new lust;
> No longer than lasts her refusing,
> No longer lasts his love.[16]

Lodenstein continued this procedure for all seven stanzas of Hooft's pastoral song, a clear instance of 'continuous borrowing'. The minister obviously admired Hooft's song, but emulated it by transposing it from the secular to the sacred realm.

All these forms of borrowing, initial, continuous, or thematic, also came into play when early modern Dutch poets chose foreign models for new song texts. One type of 'continuous borrowing' of a foreign text is what we usually call a translation. Literal translations do occur, from French or English originals, but they are not particularly numerous. More common is 'thematic borrowing', in the sense that the basic idea or a basic mood from the original is taken over.

A nice example is John Dowland's famous, sad melody "Lachrimae", 'Flow my tears, fall from your springs', which inspired a number of Dutch poets to write contrafacta that captured the mood of the original. Their initial lines read:

> Weep, eyes, weep, and become fontains
> (D. CAMPHUYSEN, 1624).[17]

> My soul, mourn! And make your complaints
> (A. VALERIUS, 1626).[18]

> Complain, eyes, complain, witness my sorrows
> (J. KRUL, 1634).[19]

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16   'Een wulleps knaepjen altijt stuirt / Nae nieuwe lust sijn sinnen, / Niet langer als het
      weygeren duirt, / Niet langer duirt het minnen'.
17   'Traen, oogen, traen, en word fonteynen'.
18   'Myn ziele treur'! En doet u klachten'.
19   'Klaegh, oogen, klaegh, tuyght mijn verdrieten'.

In the Dutch Republic most of the tunes used for popular songs were borrowed from other countries, especially from France and England, and to a lesser extent from Italy. A provisional count suggests that in the middle of the seventeenth century at least half of the tunes for Dutch songs came from France, about 20% from England, 10% from the Netherlands, Italy, Germany or Spain; for the remaining 20% the provenance is not known.[20]

Typical for songs is that the translation fits the original foreign tune, just as each contrafactum fits the tune of its model. Technically speaking, translations adopt the original stanza form, i.e. a number of formal aspects of the song text: the rhyme scheme including the gender of the rhymes (masculine or feminine), and the number of syllables or accents per line. This brings us to the formal level of borrowing, which is another dimension with its own rules and problems. When writing a contrafactum, the stanza form could be copied literally, but variations were also possible, for example through simplification of complex stanza forms, or, on the contrary, embellishment of a simple stanza form by adding extra rhymes. Ample material for further research on these phenomena may be found in the Dutch Song Database described above, which contains tens of thousands stanza forms from the early modern period, classified according to the corresponding melodies.

In the process of classifying all of these possible forms of intertextuality one might nearly overlook the fact that a contrafactum might also be written with no borrowing outside of the tune. This happened quite often: in that case a poet obviously chose a melody for a new song because he liked the music, disregarding the original text entirely. It is possible that s/he might not even have known the words at all. Even the stanza form might not have served as a conscious model, with the poet rather following intuition while humming the melody.

Performance

A song in manuscript or printed form is a mere shadow of what it is in performance. While much can be said generally about the performance of songs, the same is not true for the specific performance of songs in the early modern period. A fundamental question is: were songs always sung? The first, intuitive

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20   This impression is based on Baak Griffioen R. van, *Jacob van Eyck's 'Der Fluyten Lust-Hof'* (*1644–c1655*) (Utrecht: 1991) 73. Her calculations for the repertory of 120 melodies of Van Eyck's recorder book seem fairly representative for the whole repertoire of popular song tunes used in mid-seventeenth century Holland.

answer is: yes, by definition. The fact that many song texts have been transmitted without musical notation does not mean that they would not have been sung. It only underscores that originally song is an oral genre, and that orality is even more intrinsic to the musical than to the textual component. After all, more people are able to read text than musical notation. The conviction that song texts transmitted without music notation were indeed sung was the motivation for founding the Dutch Song Database, originally designed to link song texts to melodies to which they were or might have been sung. But the truth turns out to be more complex. For instance, if someone in the seventeenth century found a song text in a book but did not know the tune, s/he could not sing it. This situation is referred to in the following title of a *Geuzen* song:

> A New Song about the Farewell of the Bloody Spaniards;
> whoever cannot sing it may read it.[21]

Thus, reading is a historical alternative for singing a song. This is true not only in a case of the kind of necessity captured in the preceding example. Sometimes the author of a songbook emphasized the possibility of reading his songs, in case the reader did not like singing them. The religious poet Dirk Camphuysen went so far as to arrange his *Stichtelycke rymen* ('Edifying Rhymes', 1624) in such a way that the poems could be read as well as sung: he deliberately used alternating metres such as iambs and trochees instead of irregular song metres containing dactyls and anapests, which he obviously considered unpleasant for reading. It surely was deliberate that Camphuysen titled his book 'Edifying *Rhymes*' instead of 'Edifying *Songs*' (italics added).

Another fundamental question about the performance of songs is whether they were sung alone, or in a group; this question is particularly important for the discussion of identity issues. Both sole and group singing seem to have existed. The poet G.A. Bredero dedicated his *Gheestich Liedt-Boexcken* ('Spirited Songbook', 1621) to the 'merry maidens and lads' in order to sing his songs 'whether in merry meals, companies, and wedding parties, or for yourself to get rid of melancholy thoughts'.[22]

Bredero did not mention a third way, solo singing for an audience, as that was probably not a frequent interaction situation for his kind of songs. We

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21 'Een Nieuw liedeken vant affscheydt der Spaengiaerden mispresen, / diet niet singhen kan mach het lesen.' Kuiper E.T. (ed.), *Het Geuzenliedboek*, 2 vols. (Zutphen: 1924–1925) vol. I, 261, citing an edition of 1616.

22 '[…] het sy in vrolijcke Maaltyden, Gheselschappen, en Bruylofts-Feesten, of om voor u selven van swaermoedige gedachten te ontledigen.'

imagine that when someone sang alone but in company, others would have joined in and started singing along as soon as possible [Fig. 1.11]. Singing along is an essential condition for the oral transmission of songs, a natural way of learning them and passing them along. Pastor Willem Sluiter, author of *Psalmen, Lofzangen, ende geestelycke liedekens* ('Psalms, Hymns, and Sacred Songs', 1661), hoped to reach simple people with his edifying songs, people such as house servants who could not read but would hear the songs in the family circle and thus learn the words by heart. Singing together resulted in mutual edification, in an efficient way. 'One can sing together but not speak together', according to Sluiter.[23]

Many early modern songs contain refrains: words that were repeated at the same point throughout all stanzas (obviously on a recurring part of the melody). Such refrains could easily be sung by all present. This principle blurs the difference between singing alone and together, as such songs must have been performed by a lead singer and a group. Another situation halfway between the individual singer and the whole group is the pair of lovers, sitting in a pleasant environment, singing together a love dialogue or another dialogue song.

One situation requiring a genuine soloist in the early modern performance situation was in the singing of broadsides in the street. Essentially the broadside singer was a market vendor, selling songs instead of fish or fruit, able to attract and entertain people. In the standard setting the singer stood on an elevation such as a barrel or a bench, indicating what he was singing on a piece of cloth on which the scenes of the song were painted. Meanwhile, his wife, child or servant went through the crowd selling the broadsides. Once people had bought the broadside they were able to sing along with the soloist. In the regional novel *De Witte* ('The White One', 1920) by Ernest Claes, we read about such a singer at work during a fair ('kermesse') in the Flemish countryside. The peasants start singing along and some people cry with emotion.[24] Unfortunately, this description refers to the end of the nineteenth century, and we have no knowledge of an early modern equivalent. But there is no reason to assume that public reaction was much different in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, as the visual images we have from that era show the same situation.

The market singer must have been a popular figure throughout Europe. Nevertheless there seems to have been a difference between the broadsides he sold and the songbooks that could be bought in bookstores. In the Netherlands

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23   Stronks E., *Stichten of schitteren. De poëzie van zeventiende-eeuwse gereformeerde predikanten* (Houten: 1996) 97.

24   Claes E., *De Witte* (Amsterdam – Brussels: 1928) 206–210.
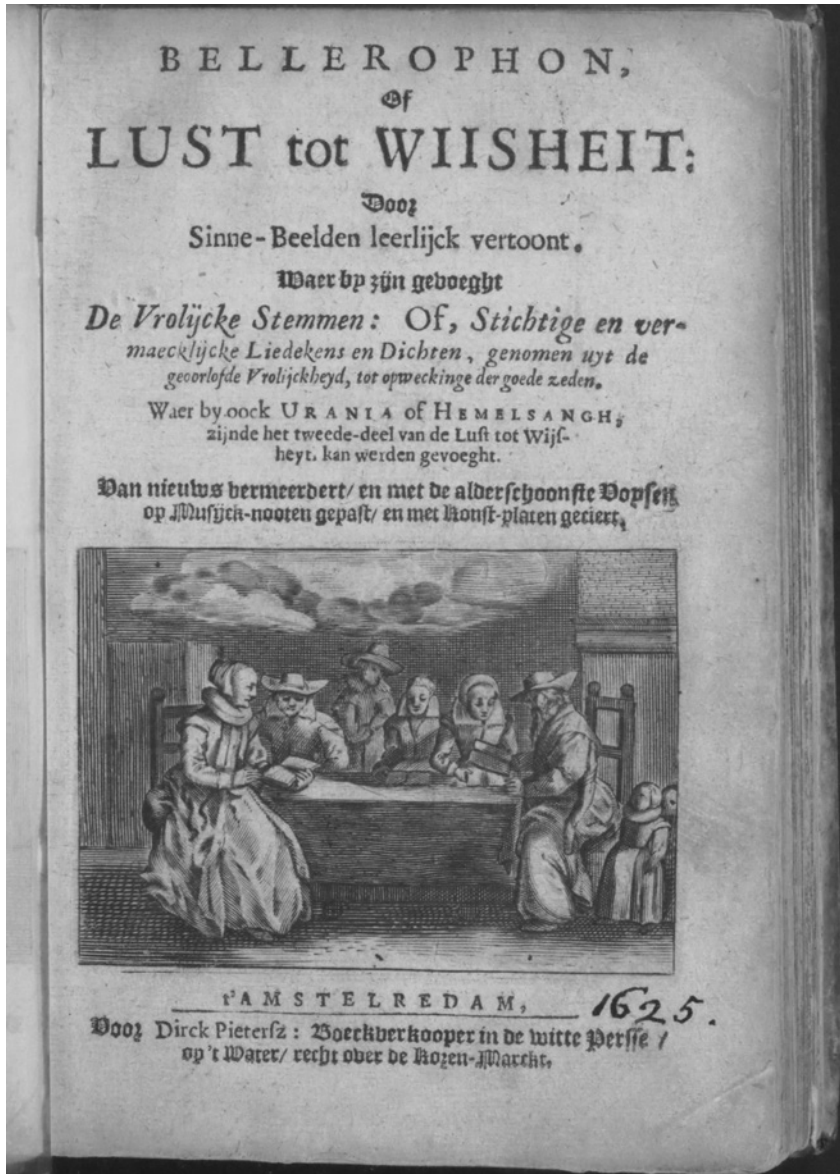
FIGURE 1.11 Bellerophon, of Lust tot Wijsheit (*'Bellerophon, or Desire for Wisdom'*)
(*Amsterdam, D.P. Pers:* [*1640–1648*]) *title page. The Hague, Royal Library, 7 B 2. The*
engraving shows the ideal use of this Calvinist songbook, by a decent family at home.
Early European Books, Copyright © 2011 ProQuest LLC.
IMAGE REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

very few broadsides have been preserved from the sixteenth century, and only a few dozen from the seventeenth. In countries such as England and Germany thousands of broadsides have survived. On the other hand, we know of at least 4,000 printed songbooks from the Low Countries from before 1800.[25] Comparative information from other nations is not as readily available, but it seems that most other countries did not produce printed songbooks in similar numbers.

Apart from the market, the theatrical stage was also a place where solo songs were performed. Many Dutch plays, tragedies even more than comical, contained songs, whether solos by a character or impersonal choruses which were usually performed by two singers.[26]

To conclude: the performance of early modern songs can be regarded as belonging to the performance of early music in general. The revival of interest in early music in the second half of the twentieth century resulted in an impressive body of knowledge about the subject, ranging from the construction of old musical instruments, through playing and singing techniques, to tunings and temperaments, tempo and improvisation. Most of this refers to art music, to the performance of which complete treatises were devoted. Although for folk and other informal music much less written information is available, the same questions can be asked. Then we are speaking about the performance practice of early modern songs. Did they use instruments to accompany the songs? And if so, what kind of accompaniment did they play: chords, drones, a second voice, a base line? In those instances in which we have a text to be sung to a melody found in another source: how can we match one to the other? And for cases in which we do have appropriate notation for a song text: how do we fit the second and following stanzas to the tune, if lines have sometimes widely divergent numbers of syllables? These problems are best solved by collaboration between scholars and musicians: musicians who are prepared to work together with scholars in order to have access to sources where they may find answers to their practical questions, scholars whose views are influenced by the insights of musicians putting theory into practice.

So far, we have introduced a model by teasing out identity, intertextuality, and performance as three focus areas of early modern song culture, and worked out specific instances of these aspects for the situation in the Netherlands.

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25   Listed in Scheurleer, *Nederlandsche Liedboeken*.

26   Veldhorst N., *De perfecte verleiding. Muzikale scènes op het Amsterdams toneel in de 17e eeuw*, Ph.D. dissertation (VU University Amsterdam: 2004); Grijp L.P., "Boys and Female Impersonators in the Amsterdam Theatre of the Seventeenth Century", *Medieval English Theatre* 28 (2006) 131–170.

However, these themes are not unique for this country. On the contrary, many of them are to be found in other European countries as well, albeit it with local emphases and differences.

Cultural Practices in Early Modern European Song Culture

The three focus areas facilitate the comparison of many European regions and different times. Several contributors to this volume begin with a focus on one of these aspects, but offer important insights on the others as well, as for many the concepts of identity, intertextuality and performance are very much intertwined. This broader picture is illustrated by the following overview of the articles.

Religion

That singing is a social activity is particularly obvious in the field of religious song: several researchers present and interpret examples of the important link between song and religious identity. Ingrid Åkesson deals with a fascinating aspect of Swedish song culture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the unwillingness of (local) church congregations and individual singers to accept changes in hymnody ordered by far-off authorities. From the Lutheran Reformation on, a central ecclesiastic power and centralized government sought to standardize hymn texts, melodies, and modes of performance, but the country-people wanted to retain their own local style, their own texts, tunes and ways of singing, which they had learned in an oral tradition in their own parish church or at home from their parents and grandparents. One essential factor in the strength of hymn-singing traditions is that they are intimately connected to several related levels of identity: individual, local and religious. Singers want to hold on to their way of singing, which is grounded in the physical body of the individual after years of practice, associated with the local community and felt as a person's own way of expressing faith. Åkesson's argument that identity is often best characterised as being *multi-layered* is echoed by other contributors to this volume; for example Mary-Ann Constantine argues that most people have many 'constructed identities, which come to the fore as occasion demands' (Constantine, p. 267). From a European perspective is it interesting to note that in the case of Sweden the strength of regional and local identities is due in part to the topography of the country, with its small isolated villages and sparse population.

In the Netherlands during the second half of the eighteenth century, a village schoolmaster could be an active agent in the promotion of religious

identity by means of song, as is shown by Nelleke Moser in her discussion of a notebook kept by Cornelis van der Schelling. This schoolmaster furthered pietism through a collection of songs written for his fellow believers, family, friends, school children and adherents of the House of Orange, thus shaping and confirming the religious identity of the addressees as well as displaying his own. His public consisted of a pietistic inner circle which would recognize and understand particular expressions (the 'language of Canaan') as well as specific genres and references to popular pietistic authors. This recognition and understanding, true for texts and particular tunes, constitutes intertextual references on the level of both text and tune. Through the collective experience of singing this shared repertoire, pietistic identity would be confirmed. Despite the absence of records or accounts of actual performance from that time, we can deduce that the songs were intended to be sung in a group from indicators of performance in the texts themselves, such as exhortations to sing along.

Some 150 years earlier, in Antwerp (today's Belgium), a similar songwriter was at work: Guilielmus Bolognino, first a parish priest and later a canon of the Cathedral of this city. Hubert Meeus and Tine de Koninck discuss the collection of songs that he wrote and collected into the printed songbook *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* ('The sacred lark', 1645). This book shares some features with the local printed songbooks already mentioned. For example, although Antwerp is not specifically named in the title, the songbook is obviously meant for Bolognino's fellow citizens, as indicated by the inclusion of songs on the patron saints of all Antwerp's parishes. Being a priest, Bolognino probably had the young people of his parish sing didactic songs as part of their religious education. A number of songs were written on secular melodies of a contemporary repertoire in French, Italian, Latin and Dutch, and so—in contrast to Van der Schelling who used tunes from pietistic sources—Bolognino set his Catholic texts to worldly music such as dances and drinking songs. His lyrics were often inspired by French love songs, which he drew into the sacred realm, for example by substituting 'Jesus' or 'Mary' for the name of the beloved in the source text (an example of continuous borrowing). If we compare Bolognino, canon and parish priest from the city of Antwerp, with Van der Schelling, schoolmaster of the small village of Zevenhoven, we can see that, despite the many differences between them, there is striking similarity: both use song in order to shape and confirm the religious identity of those under their guidance, particularly the young.

Handwritten Sources

As mentioned, the material used by Moser is a handwritten notebook with songs from the second half of the eighteenth century. Several other contributors

to this volume focus on handwritten collections of songs to trace instances of displaying, sharing and modifying identities.[27] In his discussion of German speaking areas, Franz-Jozef Holznagel shows that after the invention of print, handwritten books became connected to the private and intimate sphere, in contrast to the printed songbook intended for a general market. Hence these manuscripts provide us with unique insight into the ways in which singers and collectors assembled and shared song repertoires and thus into the sociocultural functioning of texts and music. Holznagel offers an overview of extant German handwritten secular songbooks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and describes the strategies of identity building in such books, representing as they do the musical and literary interests of the owner and the members of the group around him of her, and the owners' reasons for collecting songs. At the same time, the social identity of the group was established by the process of compiling songs into a book that recorded their shared song culture. Holznagel argues that both the urban and the aristocratic handwritten secular songbooks can function as *dispositifs* for identity: they enable the building and expression of social identities due to the combination of certain material conditions and specific content.[28]

In this field of research, where songs and other texts in miscellaneous manuscript collections are treated as windows on the particular social environment they represent and constitute, researchers in Dutch and German literature turn out to have much in common, firstly because a number of relevant manuscripts transcend the current national borders, coming as they do from the region that is now the Eastern Netherlands and the adjoining Western German area, and secondly because similar song types can be found in the entire area.

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27   Ezell M., *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore – London: 1999); Marotti A.F., *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, N.Y. – London: 1995); Taylor J.H.M., *The Making of Poetry. Late-Medieval French Poetic Anthologies* (Turnhout: 2007); Moser N., "Vroegmoderne Nederlandse manuscriptcultuur in diachroon en internationaal perspectief. Van blinde vlek tot multifocale glazen", *Neerlandistiek.nl* 07.09d [accessed: 31 October 2015].

28   For example, if a woman inserts her name and coat of arms into her own songbook, she presents herself as a member of an already existing social elite. At the same time however, she presents herself as someone belonging to a smaller number of people who unite themselves as a group through literary tastes or aesthetic principles. In using the notion *dispositif*, Holznagel goes back to Foucault, who nevertheless used it mainly in regard to the distribution of power (cf. Foucault M., *The Will to Knowledge. The History of Sexuality I* (London: 1998) 106–107). Considering the etymology of the word, Holznagel redefines a *dispositif* as something that enables order, that triggers the act of ordering or at least allows it.

Intriguing examples of such private handwritten sources are the Dutch and German alba amicorum, which were kept mostly by young ladies of a marriageable age from the lower nobility. These alba are central to the contributions by Sophie Reinders and Clara Strijbosch.

Sophie Reinders looks at the alba from the point of view of media studies and thus considers them as a social network mapping service, analogous to Facebook in our times. Both media can be interpreted as a place where adolescents have a unique social space of their own, where they can socialize with their peers and work out identity and status. At the same time users of the alba, like users of Facebook, might resort to a private code to convey hidden messages (stenography), which make these sources difficult to interpret for outsiders such as the modern researcher. According to Reinders, these alba are particularly interesting because they show the ways in which young people shared cultural content.

Clara Strijbosch emphasizes the many challenges posed by the alba amicorum as rich and intriguing sources, leading to the formulation of nine desiderata for future research. She explains that the contributions in the alba by many inscribers reveal the literary taste and culture around the female possessor of the book. The many love songs cannot be taken at face value as the expressions of the feelings of a suitor, but primarily show that this was simply the dominant genre at the time. Some alba include the relatively new phenomena of rhetorician lyrics and Petrarchan texts, which point to connections between the noble female owners of such alba and other social circles such as those of urban rhetoricians, universities and young men returning from their grand tours.

Dieuwke van der Poel's contribution also discusses aspects of the formation of youth identity through miscellaneous manuscripts with Dutch songs, but her sources are collections most probably from an urban environment: the Zutphen Songbook (1537), possibly connected to a circle of male students of the Hanseatic town Zutphen, and the album amicorum of Aefgen van Giblant (c. 1600), likely connected to well-situated citizens in the province of Holland and often referring to young addressees. Van der Poel argues that the generally recognized connection of youth identity and music is not restricted to modern times but can be traced back to at least the sixteenth century: in both sources a youth group is defining and testing its identity by singing and sharing songs. At the same time, there are the marked differences in lyrics and use of pre-existing melodies: the contents of the Zutphen Songbook are partly traditional, partly satirical (dance) songs with misogynist elements, some using older, well-known melodies, while in the environment of Aefgen all that seemed to matter was exhibiting a refined cultural background, connected with the rhetorician

culture and religious principles in sophisticated lyrics and the use of up-to-date foreign melodies. Both sources show similarities in another aspect, however, for they equally offer songs as a means of exploring and testing love as theme and behaviour.

Political Song

Another major cluster of contributions to this volume studies the intertwining of political and local identities in song and the subversive power of political song. This, too, is a rich field of research, particularly for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the aftermath of the French revolution. This is the focus of David Robb, Mary-Ann Constantine and Éva Guillorel in their discussions of songs from various parts of Europe.

David Robb describes socially critical songs in Germany and Austria from 1832 to 1849, a volatile period characterized by a striving for political emancipation from the despotism of princes and kings. The functioning of intertextuality is obvious here: popular melodies were used to advance communal singing, but also to emphasize content or to add an additional satirical layer through thematic association to the content of the original texts that the melodies can carry (thematic borrowing). For earlier periods it is often difficult to reconstruct how the performance of the songs added to the ways in which (political) identities were expressed and promoted, but Robb has a rich variety of sources from the nineteenth century at his disposal such as reports of students singing, memoirs of contemporary witnesses, and police reports of the search for writers of politically inflammatory songs or participants in riots.

Mary-Ann Constantine argues that songs are particularly interesting objects for researching the construction of identities, precisely because they are frequently adapted to new situations. She points to various Welsh examples from the 1790s to the 1820s. Printed Welsh ballads occupy the border between oral and printed culture and show the interplay of various shifting identities: anti-French, pro-Welsh, even pro and con the British Crown, and all this simultaneously linked to religious stances: one could be Anglican or Nonconformist but both would be anti-Catholic. "God save the king" offers a clear example of the possibilities of intertextuality in song: both tune and words were used not only by loyalists to the Crown but also—ironically—by adversaries of State and Church. Furthermore, the singing of songs on French revolutionary melodies (such as the "Marseillaise") was considered seditious in Wales. Another development in the early nineteenth century was the notion of 'national song' as Scottish, Welsh and Irish songs were collected and printed, but in a socially acceptable form which elided cultural differences: Scottish airs were arranged by composers such as Haydn, Beethoven, Hummel and von Weber and new

texts were set to native Welsh tunes, mostly by English and Scottish writers, and only rarely by Welsh poets.

Like Constantine, Éva Guillorel convincingly makes a case for the importance of voices from the 'peripheries' when dealing with questions of identity, in her discussion of examples from Brittany. She approaches the connection of song and politics from a slightly different angle: she seeks to understand the importance of folksongs as social memory, defining folksongs as 'songs collected from oral performance, often (though not exclusively) from among the "popular" classes' (Guillorel, p. 287). Her main sources are Breton narrative ballads (*gwerzioù*) that recount, in great detail, tragic counter-revolutionary events in the 1790s. Using song to retell social conflict and protest is a long-standing practice that can be traced and analysed from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, because such songs are transmitted over a long period. In the tradition, the narration of a specific event is frequently turned into a timeless plot with a fixed narrative scheme, such as the girl who commits suicide after losing her honour, or the brave deeds of citizens during the siege of a city. Following Jonathan Roper, Guillorel uses the concept of an *ecotype*: 'a special version of a type of any folkloristic genre limited to a particular cultural area in which it has developed differently from examples of the same type in other areas, because of national, political, geographical and historical conditions'.[29] The analysis of ecotypes shows how one and the same story can be tailored to different audiences and can convey even opposite political positions.

Intertextuality and Performance

Many contributions to this volume present examples of intertextuality in tunes and lyrics, but the most detailed investigation of this subject is the study by Christopher Marsh, who dedicates his article to the tradition of "Fortune my Foe", the best-known tune in early modern England. Marsh demonstrates that through the years the melody was connected with three thematic fields. Originally it was primarily used for the expression of the fear of having lost the beloved (but also the unexpected consolation by the lady). However, from the late sixteenth century onwards the same tune is referred to as "Aim not too high" and as such it is used for texts with moral and religious admonition. In such texts, secular devotion for a maiden is turned into religious devotion for the Lord in an intertextual play with sorts of love. The third thematic area carried by this melody concerned *execution ballads*: narrative songs rendering the last words of a criminal at the point of dying upon the gallows.

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29   Roper J., "Towards a Poetic, Rhetorics and Proxemics of Verbal Charms", *The Electronic Journal of Folklore* 24 (2003) 44.

Thus this popular tune brought along a dense web of associations. Although there are almost no sources that offer information on actual listening experiences, Marsh' meticulous analysis of the various realisations of this melody shows the possibilities for understanding associations of a particular melody in a particular period. Marsh argues that human beings are well equipped to link the use of the same melody throughout several instances, as is shown by results in the field of musical cognition which clarifies how the human brain stores and connects musical experiences. Marsh argues that this must have been as true for the early modern period as it is for our times.

The actual performance and historic reception of songs is often difficult to trace, but sometimes we are fortunate to have sources that offer glimpses of the past, such as the fascinating reports in the diaries of the famous English collector Samuel Pepys (second half of the seventeenth century). Drawing on these unique reports of the singing and exchanging of broadside ballads, Patricia Fumerton describes different uses of ballads, from flirtation by references to ballad personae, to affirming social, royalist or political stances in singing along. The meaning of a ballad might differ as it depends on the assemblage of the participating publics, which were more or less coincidental gatherings of singers and publics on various occasions. She concludes with the idea that ballad publics can best be seen as a nesting of public spheres, with those most involved (the mostly anonymous makers, the major printers and sellers) in the middle, and on the outskirts the occasionally involved (such as the incidental producers and random listeners, singers and readers).

Extending our view beyond Europe to the Cape Colony in South Africa, Anne Marieke van der Wal focusses on music performed by the slaves of the European settlers in the period 1750–1838. She looks for processes of musical borrowing and adaptation and the mechanics of creating and negotiating cultural identities in this complex colonial context. Following Simon Frith, she stresses the inseparable link between performance and identity: groups act out their cultural identity through performance.[30] Slave musicians playing in orchestra displayed the taste of their master through the European music they were to perform and play on European instruments, but in their limited spare time they danced to music which merged the different musical traditions that various groups had taken along with them on their Diaspora. They played this Creole music on their own crafted instruments, hence distancing themselves from the European community. Apart from that, several accounts of meetings

30   Frith S., "Music and Identity", in: idem, *Taking Popular Music Seriously: Selected Essays* (Aldershot: 2007) 293–312.

of (former) slaves and lower-class colonists at the Cape attest to a fusion of European and Diaspora music.

Towards a Comparison of Early Modern European Song Culture

The articles in this volume demonstrate that a comparative approach to European song culture is as necessary as it is stimulating. Of the three focus areas which we have touched on in this introduction, at the moment identity seems most inspiring for international scholarship, as almost all articles in this volume show that the connection of identity and song is obvious, regardless of the particular local and regional European traditions to which the songs belong. The link between song, performance and social identity formation is clearly perceptible, particularly when young people, religion or politics are concerned. While these three have already proved to be important, we expect that future comparative research will point to additional recurring themes, for example songs connected to professional groups such as sailors and soldiers. Another recurring theme is that identity is more strongly felt when it is under pressure and threatened by a common adversary (Åkesson, Moser, Meeus and De Koninck, Robb, Constantine, Guillorel, Van der Wal).

Many contributions stress that during performance, identity is simultaneously acted out and constructed. In Sweden the country-people were determined to hold on to their traditional way of singing because for them this was the only correct way of worshipping which they had known from childhood on. Such unwillingness of common people to accept imposed changes in hymnody is one of the themes that could very well be explored on a European level in the future.[31] Similarly, Guillorel points out that the practice of group singing in Brittany is a collective expression of shared social and political values and Fumerton mentions an example of the making of a momentary political group during the singing of an anti-Republican song aboard a ship. Something similar to this construction of identity in performance, is the expression and establishment of identity that is connected with the gathering of songs in more or less personal handwritten sources. Here the collector might articulate an individual identity, but this person is often at the same time a representative of

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31   We (editors) are best acquainted with the Dutch situation, see for example: Grijp L.P., "De honger naar psalmen en schriftuurlijke liedekens tijdens de Reformatie", in Grijp L.P. (ed.), *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: 2001) 168–173; Luth J., *'Daer wert om 't seerste uytgekreten . . .': Bijdragen tot een geschiedenis van de gemeentezang in het Nederlandse gereformeerde protestantisme ca. 1550–ca. 1852* (Kampen: 1986).

a particular group. In many cases the songs in such a manuscript reflect the cultural taste and aspirations of the social group with whom the owner had the repertoire in common. Then, the act of collecting and sharing of songs is a way in which a group defines itself (Holznagel, Moser, Reinders, Strijbosch and Van der Poel). The research of these handwritten books from this promising perspective has only just begun.

In many instances the formation of group identity is influenced deliberately by individuals. In this volume we have encountered a number of such agents: schoolmasters (Moser, Meeus and De Koninck), deacons, clergymen and parish clerks (Meeus and De Koninck, Åkesson) and local printers (Åkesson, Fumerton). A further comparative analysis of such brokers of identity through song seems another promising opportunity: who were they, what strategies did they employ, which audiences did they target, with what purpose?[32]

Our second focus area, intertextuality, similarly offers common comparative ground. Omnipresent in European song culture is the making of contrafacta, which is intertextuality in the production of songs. It is, however, much more difficult to establish whether or not intertextuality also functions in the reception of songs: did listeners—and subsequent singers—take into account the earlier version of the song? The situation is often even more complicated because one and the same melody could be connected with many different song texts: as Marsh puts it, a 'tune could mean subtly different things to different people and more than one thing to the same person (Marsh, p. 321). Several contributors offer interesting possibilities for solving the problem of tracing the reception of tunes. Fumerton's idea that multiform ballad publics can be seen as concentric circles, with those most involved in the middle, is very likely applicable in other cases as well. Marsh has shown that if a given melody is connected to specific themes, then it is more probable that the listeners also took the theme of a particular earlier version into account. Also, he refers to research in the field of musical cognition that shows that the human brain is very good at comparing new melodies to familiar ones, and therefore in considering the earlier version of the song while interpreting new wordings. Sometimes there are obvious textual clues: for example, Fumerton mentions the instance of a broadside ballad about England's patron Saint George, the melody of which was used for a song honoring the heroic deeds of General George, First Duke of Albemarle. Well-known melodies can be used in a satirical way and thus add

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32   Moser mentions other examples of Dutch schoolmasters yet to be researched (footnote 23 of her article).

an extra layer to the song: both Robb and Constantine mention political, anti-royalist songs on the tune of "God save the Queen".

This is only one example of the use of foreign melodies, one more fascinating topic for international song research. We have mentioned that in the Dutch Republic most of the tunes came from other countries, particularly from France and England. In this volume, two more cases are discussed: Bolognino, working in the Southern Netherlands, favored French 'airs de cour', as well as Italian and Latin melodies. He was often the first to introduce these melodies in the Netherlands, but his work was not very influential, for later seventeenth-century songwriters did not use them (Meeus and De Koninck). In Aefgen van Giblant's album about a quarter of the melodies comes from abroad, specifically from France and England, and it is interesting to see that her musical taste is more of a trend-setter: her album frequently offers (one of) the first testimonies of the use of a melody that remained popular later on. One of these melodies is "Fortune my Foe"; it would be interesting to see whether the three thematic fields described by Marsh are still present after the melody was imported into another language area, just as the basic mood of Dowland's "Lachrimae" was taken over in the Netherlands along with the music, as mentioned above. Also, it would be interesting to investigate to what extent these French and English influences were active elsewhere, especially in Germany and Scandinavian countries, but also in Southern Europe. The topic of the transnational use of melodies could be one more interesting step towards defining an early modern European song culture.

The third focus area, performance, also offers possibilities for comparing regional song cultures throughout Europe. However, research into actual performance is hampered by a lack of sources: often it is difficult to gain any concrete detail of how, when, where and by whom songs were actually sung. The earliest example in this volume of sources that actually describe the event of performance is the diary of Pepys (1661). When songs were considered dangerous and seditious, juridical archives and police reports can be highly informative (Guillorel and Robb) and a comparative analyses of such sources throughout Europe is another challenge for future research.[33] When such

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33   We know of several examples of such a ban on jeering songs in the Netherlands as well: see Grijp L.P., "Spotliederen in de Gouden Eeuw", *Volkskundig Bulletin* 18 (1992) 340–366; Pleij H., *Het gevleugelde woord. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1400–1560* (Amsterdam: 2007) 255–258; Maes L.Th., *Vijf eeuwen stedelijk strafrecht. Bijdrage tot de rechts- en cultuurgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Antwerpen – The Hague: 1947) 249–250 and 680.

written sources are lacking, the intended performance can still be inferred to some extent from textual clues, like the use of the plural 'we', the occurrence of refrains, and the use of dialogue and role-playing (Moser and Van der Poel).

In the preceding paragraphs we have highlighted some of the similarities and analogies that the articles in this volume bring to the fore. They can be regarded as rough sketches of what an early modern European song culture might look like. However, we have also formulated some desiderata for future research. While the contributions cover wide geographic and temporal swaths, with examples from a large area and ranging from 1450 to 1850, obvious lacunae exist, in particular in Southern and Eastern Europe.

One more major desideratum deserves some extra attention here: the similarities and differences in the transmission of song in a European perspective. Most scholars stress the importance of being aware of the ongoing interplay between the oral, handwritten and printed tradition, but the state of transmission is different in European countries, and we are only beginning to know each other's material and to understand the reasons behind the differences.

We have already noted the remarkable differences in the production and transmission of broadsides and printed songbooks on a European scale. In both Britain and Germany thousands of broadsides, *Flugblätter* and *Liedhefte* have come down to us. The situation in the Netherlands is entirely different. There a relatively large number of printed songbooks (about 4,000) are extant, comprised not only of cheap books for a general market like the chapbooks in other countries, but also of luxurious exemplars, for example those that were meant to be given as a present during courtship.[34] At the same time, the tradition of handwritten songbooks does not fade away but even shows some growth (Van der Poel, p. 210). Also in Germany the handwritten songbook remains important (Holznagel).[35]

However, the number of songs printed on a separate sheet in the Netherlands is remarkably low, in comparison with both the sheet songs extant in other national traditions, and Dutch printed songbooks. A telling and well-researched example is that of the political Beggars' songs. They must have been printed

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34   Veldhorst N., *Zingend door het leven. Het Nederlandse liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: 2009) 15, 91–99; Grootes E.K., "Het jeugdig publiek van de 'nieuwe liedboeken' in het eerste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw", in Van den Berg W. – Stouten J. (red.), *Het woord aan de lezer. Zeven literatuurhistorische verkenningen* (Groningen: 1987) 72–88.

35   Several studies already combine Dutch and German sources from a comparative point of view, but much work is still to be done, as Holznagel and Strijbosch explicitly state.

originally on loose sheets and in small booklets, but almost none of those have been transmitted to our time. We do have a collection of these songs in the *Geuzenliedboek*, a cheaply printed volume for a broad market, reprinted and adapted time and again with more recent songs inserted.[36]

The situation in Sweden is different again, as we learn from Åkesson: there are only a few handwritten sources from the sixteenth to eighteenth century and the printed transmission sets in particularly late, with most of the chapbooks only from the nineteenth century. With regard to the situation in France, many French manuscript chansons, broadside ballads and printed songbooks have come down to us, but they have not yet been the object of an overall analysis (Guillorel, p. 289).

Obviously this overview of the state of transmission is far from complete. An important challenge for further research is to gain more insight into the similarities and differences concerning the transmission of song on a European scale, and also to work out explanations. Likely various factors are at work: geographical, educational (questions of orality and literacy), social (influence of courts and urban literature, singing 'under pressure'), and the role of contemporary collectors (e.g. Pepys).

This volume is based on the premise that we have a lot to gain by sharing knowledge about regional song cultures through a comparative approach. We as editors hope that this volume will serve as a point of departure for further research on genres and trends in early modern European song culture.

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36   De Bruin M., "Geuzen- en antigeuzenliederen", in Grijp, *Een muziekgeschiedenis* 174–181; Kuiper E.T. (ed.), *Het Geuzenliedboek*, 2 vols. (Zutphen: 1924–1925).

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Local and Religious Identity in Swedish Popular Hymn Singing during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Ingrid Åkesson

Song culture in history is sometimes regarded as a mainly literary or text-oriented phenomenon, especially within disciplines such as literature, history, or linguistics. However, musical elements, styles of performance, and ways of transmitting songs also play an important role when we want to study songs and singing, whether today or in the past. In the context of ethnomusicology the interest is focused on the relationships and interplay between musical expressions (including lyrics), the social contexts of music and music-making, and conceptions of music held by individuals, groups, and societies.[1] Although ethnomusicology is often characterized by contemporary fieldwork, scholars also apply it to historical and archival source material.[2]

This article will discuss a few aspects of the theme of song and identity in early modern Europe by applying musical, performative and social perspectives to this issue. The main topic is popular or traditional hymn singing in post-Reformation Sweden (mainly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) as a means for creating and negotiating local identity, intermixed with religious identity. I am going to discuss a number of reasons behind this strong and special tradition, and the fact that hymn repertoire, melodies, and performance styles resisted change for a very long time in spite of strong counteractive forces, represented by Church and state authorities. The amalgamation of these two powers, with the national Lutheran Church as the only accepted religious movement, gradually became very strong in Sweden after the Reformation. For centuries the popular hymn-singing tradition has been situated in the midst of a number of social, political, and cultural tension fields, a fact that makes it an interesting object for study even outside the Swedish context.

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1 Cf. Merriam A.P., *The Anthropology of Music* Evanston, Illinois: 1964); Rice T., "Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology", *Ethnomusicology* 31, 3 (1987) 469–488.

2 See e.g. http://www.ictmusic.org/group/historical-sources-traditional-music [accessed: 1 April 2013].

A principle premise in this article is that one basic reason for the strength and preservation of the hymn-singing tradition is the intimate connection between singing performance and song style, and issues of identity; in this case at least three different levels of identity. Singing is, firstly, connected to *individual* identity—it is grounded in the physical body of the individual and in years of practice. Secondly, it is connected to *group and local* identities—singing may express shared history and experiences, local repertoire and styles etc. Often it is associated with local community, customs and performance situations. Thirdly, in the case of hymns or other spiritual songs, there is a connection to *religious* identity—singers tend to hold on to locally and historically established and transmitted interpretations of how to express faith. There are numerous well-known examples throughout history of popular resistance against ecclesiastical and other authoritarian decrees regarding everyday expressions of religious belief. If people in a certain group are ordered to change these habits they run the risk of losing a type of expression that is part of their composite identity.[3]

When studying popular religious singing practices, as well as musical ideals and conceptions during earlier centuries, the scholar needs to combine knowledge of the sets of rules and regulations for hymn singing, and church music and liturgy in general, with knowledge of singing traditions characterized mainly by oral and aural transmission. It is also necessary to use source material of very different types. The methods as well as the material will move on and transgress the borders between the oral and the literary, the popular and the learned.[4] As there is a scarcity of sources on musical performance in early modern times –especially as regards the lower strata of society—I will touch upon the source situation in general as well as the additional use of sources from later periods than the one that is the main focus of this publication. Considering this general scarcity of sources, traditional hymn singing is one of the areas in which there is a reasonable amount of source material in Sweden that concerns singing among common people before 1800. One reason is that hymn singing as a Christian ritual, and as an everyday musical practice, tends to be a conservative phenomenon; another is the genre's connection to printed hymnbooks and official liturgy. During the last decades several scholars in the Nordic-Baltic region have done research on Lutheran traditional hymn singing

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3   With the term 'composite identity' I generally refer to the existence of several levels of identity within a person, e.g. individual, gendered, community and ethnic levels.

4   The boundary between orality and literacy in traditional singing is further discussed in Åkesson I., "Oral/Aural Culture in Late Modern Society? Traditional Singing as Professionalized Genre and Oral-Derived Expression", *Oral Tradition* 27, 1 (2012) 69–71.

in their respective cultures. This article is based partly on their work as well as on on my own research carried out in co-operation with the Swedish scholar Margareta Jersild a number of years ago.[5] Issues of identity have been the framework for some re-consideration of our work in this context.

Before commencing with my main topic, I want to comment on a few underlying issues. This case study will likely be more relevant to readers in other parts of Europe through the inclusion of a short sketch of some characteristics specific to Scandinavia in relationship to the European Continent and the British Isles. These characteristics concern firstly, infrastructure and communications, and secondly, literacy and print in the early modern period. I will also give some background to, and comment on, the source situation concerning early modernity on the northern fringe of Europe.

Topography and Language Creating Cultural Areas Across National Borders

The Nordic region has historically been much less densely populated than most parts of the European Continent, and in several areas communications have been bad. In coastal regions and other areas with easy access, communication has of course been more frequent, while remote inland areas have been characterized by a higher degree of isolation. Thus the dissemination of music and dance, and other cultural influences, has been livelier in the coastal areas and the lowland regions. In many ways the national borders—which at several points in history have been reconstructed and renegotiated—have in practical life been less important than geographically and linguistically related areas.[6]

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5 Bak K. Sass – Nielsen S. (eds.), *Spiritual Folk Singing. Nordic and Baltic Protestant Traditions* (Copenhagen: 2006); Jersild M. – Åkesson I., *Folklig koralsång: En musiketnologisk undersökning av bakgrunden, bruket och musiken* (Hedemora: 2000).

6 The Baltic Sea as a geographical agent, and the former Swedish colonial aspirations as a political agent, have connected the west coasts of Finland and Estonia to the eastern parts of Sweden for many centuries; especially in the western parts of Finland the Swedish language has functioned as another link. The valleys crossing the mountain range on the border between Norway and Sweden have connected neighbouring areas in both countries throughout the historical changes in political unions. There are also similarities in the spoken (and musical) dialects. Southern Sweden has had a high degree of interaction with the areas that are now Denmark, Poland, and Germany. Western Norway has maintained the links to the British Isles that were created during the Viking era. Sapmi, the Saami language area, culturally covers the whole of the Scandinavian Arctic and sub-Arctic region and the Russian Kola Peninsula.

As in many parts of the world, geography and language or dialect form a basis for regional and local identities, which in practical daily life can be stronger than national identities.

Regarding musical and other cultural expressions, new influences have arrived in several waves throughout history. Accordingly, we find a complicated structure of accumulated layers of repertoire, stylistic elements and influences. The newer musical influences have supplanted, or been combined with, older layers more rapidly in areas with good communications, while older layers have continued to be in use in the more remote areas.[7] These are basic facts, but they are important for the study of local and regional traditions. They should also be kept in mind when evaluating the use of more recent sources in the research about older phenomena.

Literacy, Print and Source Situation

As the Nordic region was a predominantly rural and sparsely populated area up to the latter part of the nineteenth century, the majority of the population lived in small villages. Urban culture comprised relatively few individuals, and the clerical and military middle class of the countryside was small. Literacy and the growth of schools and universities spread much faster and earlier in the central and western parts of Europe than in the north. In earlier centuries Scandinavians travelled to Dutch, French and German universities, also after the foundation of the first Swedish university (originally in 1477 but not continuously functioning until late in the sixteenth century).

By the mid-1700s only about 20 percent of the Swedish population was literate, which means that there are few diaries, letters, and other accounts from common people from this period. Writing and print culture were mainly associated with the ruling powers, schools and the Church. The only books found in most rural, or poorer, homes in the eighteenth century were the hymnbook and Martin Luther's Small Catechism, translated into Swedish. Gradually the Bible also became common.[8] In a few homes one may have found some chapbooks

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7   Cf. Ahlbäck S., *Karaktäristiska egenskaper för låttyper i svensk folkmusiktradition. Ett försök till beskrivning* (Norra Stavsudda: 1995); Åkesson I., "Variation som röd tråd—en överblick", in Halskov Hansen L. – Ressem A. – Åkesson I. (eds.), *Tradisjonell sang som levende prosess. Nordiske studier i stabilitet og forandring, gjentagelse og variasjon* (Oslo: 2009) 5–21.

8   Bohlin F., "Kyrkosången" in Jonsson L. – Ivarsdotter-Johnson (eds.), *Musiken i Sverige II. Frihetstid och gustaviansk tid 1720–1810* (Stockholm: 1993) 123–141; Jersild – Åkesson, *Folklig koralsång* 24–26.

and broadsides. These were printed and distributed on a very small scale from around 1600; they became somewhat more common in the eighteenth century, but the bulk of the chapbooks were printed in the nineteenth century. Most songbooks were also published after 1800. This means that in Sweden the amount of printed source material of songs from before 1800 is relatively small, especially in comparison with many parts of the European continent.

Other types of written source material from these centuries are also rather scarce. There are some handwritten songbooks from families of the gentry, nobility and bourgeoisie, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and a few early collected ballads (only texts) from the seventeenth century. To supplement collected song material, scholars have used legal documents and various kinds of other official documents, written sources such as traveller's accounts and diaries from the higher strata of society, and, for certain purposes, church paintings and other iconographic sources. Especially travellers' accounts and reports from church officials provide interesting information on hymn singing in the country churches.

Strictly speaking, the material collected from the early 1800s onward, that is, the bulk of the material in our archives, falls outside of the early modern period. However, combined with other types of sources mentioned above, these collections can give us some information that points backwards in time, at least the life span of three to four generations. One important factor is that oral transmission of songs and other expressions of traditional culture have often meant transmission from grandparents to grandchildren, thus linking generations together. Another feature to take into account is the lingering and preservation of older cultural layers in several rural areas, especially remote areas with poor means of communication. A third factor is the aforementioned generally conservative character of hymn singing. Considering these circumstances, and combined with older written and printed sources, such as travellers' accounts and contemporary decrees and statutes, some of this later source material might be useful in seeking knowledge about song performance from as early as the eighteenth century.[9]

This is a possibility especially concerning issues like repertoire, means of transmission, occasions and milieus for singing, and to some extent performance practices. Scholars are also able to gain some knowledge about the creative and re-creative processes among singers in a tradition where oral and written elements interact. In Scandinavian singing traditions the tunes have almost invariably been orally transmitted as very few singers knew notation;

9 Jersild – Åkesson, *Folklig koralsång* 121–123; Ramsten M., "'Jag vet så dejlig en ros'. Om folklig vissång", in Ling J. – Ramsten M. – Ternhag G. (eds.), *Folkmusikboken* (Stockholm: 1980) 122.

song texts have also been transmitted mostly orally, but sometimes via print and writing, that is, chapbooks and hand-written songbooks respectively.[10] But these sources give us scarce or very indirect information about elements such as emotional meaning or views on identity. For the possible interpretation of such issues, and for any knowledge of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century practices, contemporary scholars have to turn to accounts and statements from e.g. bishops and other officials who formulate rules for hymn singing or criticise popular singing practices.

Tension between Central and Local Identity in the Locally Practised Hymn Singing

One important factor for the locally practiced hymn singing after the time of the Reformation is a pattern of tension between a centralized government and likewise centralized Church leadership on one side and strong local and regional identities on the other. During the Catholic era, Sweden was only partially centralized, like many other European countries, with several independent centres of political and religious as well as economic importance. The period was also characterized by competing interests and changing alliances within the Scandinavian region. With the gradual establishment of a strong national state and the coeval process of the Lutheran Reformation during the sixteenth century, the government and the national Church cooperated closely in creating a policy of centralization. That policy grew even stronger in the seventeenth century, focusing on several fields of society. This was the historical period of the Thirty Years War, when Sweden aspired to become a leading power in Europe. Those aspirations were linked to an attempt to construct a glorious Swedish, or Nordic, past from historical and cultural sources; at times very doubtable sources were used in less than serious ways. At the same time the German influence was strong within areas such as administration and culture.

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10   In her 2007 thesis on traditional singing in Sweden, the author created a model for the overlapping patterns of reconstruction, transformation and innovation within a musical culture of oral origin but using a mixture of media and expressions. This flexible model may be applied to processes in the past as well as in the present. It is presented in English in Åkesson I., "Re-creation, re-shaping, and renewal among contemporary Swedish folk singers. Attitudes toward "tradition" in vocal folk music revitalization", in *STM* online 9 (2006).

Religion was one area where the efforts at centralization were quite evident. After the Reformation, a large part of both the Nordic and the Baltic regions soon adopted the Lutheran dogma. The Reformer Olaus Petri and the King Gustav Vasa began their cooperation in the first half of the sixteenth century, one of the immediate goals being to translate the divine service into Swedish. For some three centuries thereafter, the Church and the government joined forces to gain control over every village, every congregation and every household, over peoples' beliefs and opinions. Remnants of Catholicism and pre-Christian beliefs were prosecuted as well as various Free Church movements, which strayed from the prescribed interpretation of Lutheran dogma.[11] In Sweden the state Church has been much more hegemonic than, for example, in Denmark and Norway, and thereby it has had a stronger influence on the religious song and hymn repertoire, as well as on performance.[12]

Lutheran hymns, often translated from German, were already being disseminated in the decades just after the Reformation. By that time, and throughout the seventeenth century, several different hymnbooks were in use in different parishes with varying selections of hymns. Local clergymen and different printers were agents in this process. Diverse tunes were also being sung to the same texts, and the same tunes were used for different hymn texts, thus creating a multifaceted structure. Even if the same tune type was used in several places, the actual melodic shapes would differ, as is usual in a practice that is built on oral tradition.[13]

By the end of the seventeenth century, however, the national Church—as mentioned above—had developed a strong central leadership. The purpose of control was very far-reaching: the Church authorities established not only the standardized versions of hymn texts, and which hymns were to be sung at which times of the liturgical year, but they also selected the tunes to be used and dictated the way of performing hymns. In 1695 a new hymnbook (containing only texts) was published, compiled by the royal chaplain Jesper Svedberg and aimed at replacing all the others.[14] This was the first hymnbook sanctioned

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11   In the eighteenth century a notable pietist movement emerged, but in this text I omit side issues and chiefly sketch the main contours of state control, as neither history or religious movements are my own subjects.

12   Göransson H., "Kyrkans musik", in *Musiken i Sverige III. Från forntid till stormaktstidens slut 1720* (Stockholm: 1994) 231–272.

13   Bohlin F., "Kyrkosången" 123–141; Göransson H., *Koralpsalmboken 1697. Studier i svensk koralhistoria* (Hedemora: 1992) 17–22. See also: Jersild – Åkesson, *Folklig koralsång* 174–208.

14   As several other hymnbook editions it was just called 'Den svenska psalmboken' [The Swedish hymnbook]. Despite the common title these different editions partly contained

by the king for use in the whole country. From a long-term perspective this was a successful initiative: that hymnbook (and other very similar editions, like the so-called Reval hymnbook of 1767, used in the Swedish-speaking parts of Estonia) was distributed and implemented all over the Swedish-speaking regions. This took a longer time than the Church officials had bargained for, but gradually it became a very strong standard, which was maintained by individual singers even after the year 1900. Hymn texts were implemented among the congregations and among individuals, because hymnbooks (containing only the texts) were commonly owned and read; those who did not own a book learned not only the melodies but also the texts by heart at the weekly services.

For a long time, hymns were the vocal genre in which the texts were more closely related to a fixed, printed norm than in any other. Therefore they were codified and constituted an exception from the usual oral process of variation.[15] In addition, the hymns were sung in 'standard Swedish' and not, like many traditional songs, in dialect. One reason was that they were learned from a printed source, and another the fact that they were associated with religious and national authority. For those reasons this implementation of hymn texts might be regarded as a strengthening of a national identity among the Swedish people, with everybody singing the same words.

But text, tune and singing style are different aspects of song, and for tunes and style circumstances were different from that of the text. The hymnbook of 1695 was followed in 1697 by the first printed hymnal, containing the centrally prescribed tunes and meant for use in all churches. This hymnal was compiled by professor Harald Vallerius on commission from the King Karl XII. It was preceded by much discussion and pleading for the need of disciplined congregational singing. The Bishop Emporagrius, for example, declared around 1670 that hymn-singing practice in the cities was acceptable, as it was directed by schoolmasters, but he strongly recommended that rectors or parish clerks should step into authority in the country churches to 'keep the stupid and unlettered crowd to the right tune' and avoid 'noise and provoking reluctance'.[16] Another

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different selections of hymns. The editions are identifiable mainly by the respective year of publication.

15   A number of secular songs as well as hymn texts were printed in broadsheets and chapbooks, and at least from the nineteenth century, when they were more widely distributed, the prints obviously had an impact on the oral tradition. However, as I have pointed out, prints were rare in early modern times, and hymnbooks held a unique position as printed authorities. Cf. Ramsten, "Jag vet så dejlig en ros" 104–157.

16   "Uthi städerna […] skola Scholemästaren genom Hörare, Notarios och Dieknar hålla kyrkiosången widh macht, och ther uppå hafwa itt noga upseende […]. Men på landz-bygden wårde thet samma Kyrkioheerden, Capellanen och Klockaren. Ther skal ock Klockaren under siungandet stå på någon ort mitt uti Kyrkian, och hålla den enfaldige och

contemporary bishop complained of singers raising and lowering the pitch, which has been interpreted as a description of ornamental singing similar to practices documented in the twentieth century.[17] Expressions such as these imply clearly the existence in the seventeenth century of established and rather long-lasting popular singing styles that differed from the more official style.

Some of the tunes in the new hymnal were selected from those already in use, some were originally German hymn tunes or vernacular songs, some were old Latin medieval songs, and others again were newly composed. Most of them were predominantly syllabic; an irregular metre was not unusual. The tonality was very often modal with elements from Doric and other modal scales, and several tunes did not for example have the tonic as final tone. In short, the musical character of the hymnal to a great extent reflected older cultural layers, while the musical world of the elite was continuously modernized.[18] This is certainly one reason why the tunes fitted into an already existing traditional or popular practice of variation. Another reason is that several tunes already in use were kept in the hymnal, which facilitated the continuation of local practices.

The tune of one of the most widely disseminated hymns, "Den signade dag" ("Blessed Day"), exhibits a visible continuity in its melodic skeleton as a recognisable form over the centuries, up to the 1900s. The tune is thought to be of medieval origin[19] and was published in a Danish hymnbook as early as 1569. In addition, there are several transcriptions made by cantors during the seventeenth century, which confirm that the hymn was commonly sung at least in parts of Sweden before the publication of the 1697 hymnal. There are also cantors' transcriptions from the eighteenth century, showing that variation in form continued on the congregational level after the publication of the hymnal. The version printed in the hymnal is shown in Fig. 2.1. More interesting in this context, however, is the richness of melodic variants documented in later times, signifying the strength of the many local traditions. Fig. 2.2 and 2.3 respectively show variants from Mora in central Sweden and Seglora in the southern part, both recorded in the twentieth century. What I call the melodic skeleton

olärde hopen rätt widh tonen, att församblingen i Choren och uthan före, må stämma wäl öfwerens, så sigh icke yppar något oliud och förargeligh mootsträfwigheet." The bishop Emporagrius's proposal for a liturgy, cited in Göransson H., "Kyrkans musik", in Jonsson L. – Nilsson A.-M. – Andersson G. (eds.), *Musiken i Sverige I. Från forntid till stormaktstidens slut* (Stockholm: 1994) 247.

17   "Eij heller skal wara tilstadt, retta och egentelige toonen antingen medh röstens sänckande eller uphöiande på Discantewijss […] wrengia och förandra, utan altijdh enfaldeligen och liufligen blifwa widh wars och ens psalms egenteliga toon och utsiungande." The bishop Laurelius's proposal for a liturgy, cited in Göransson, "Kyrkans musik" 248.

18   Cf. Jersild – Åkesson, *Folklig koralsång* 96–120.

19   Cf. e.g. Eckerdal L., *Den signade dag. En sång—tre studier* (Skellefteå: 2011) 30–32.

FIGURE 2.1   *"Den signade dag"*. Den svenska psalmboken 1695. 1697 års koralbok [*Facsimile*] (*Hedemora: 1985*) 702.

FIGURE 2.2   *"Den signade dag"*, variant from Mora. Collected by Janne Romson. Nils Andersson, Svenska Låtar. Dalarna I. (*Stockholm: 1922–1924*) 144.

(or, in other words, the main features of the tune version in the hymnal) is clearly discernible in these two traditional variants, but they also show some typical features of orally-derived variation, such as changes of the pitch position of certain melodic phrases, and a lesser or greater amount of ornamentation.

To return to the hymnal of 1697: this attempt at canonization and codification was not as successful as the 1695 hymnbook, at least not for a long time. There are several reasons for this failure. Some reasons are practical and

FIGURE 2.3 *"Den signade dag", variant from Seglora. Collected by Olof Andersson.* Svenska Låtar. Västergötland (*Stockholm: 1932*) *107.*

economical, while others have more to do with oral tradition and transmission, with conservative habits, and with a dislike of regulations issued by anonymous authorities. And, most certainly, mental attitudes prevailed that might be defined as *identity issues*. Very often these different reasons overlapped and were combined. To start with, the hymnal was expensive, so only larger and richer congregations could afford it, although all of them were expected to use the new hymnal. The abovementioned hand-written hymnals, which were used regionally by cantors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, constitute important source material concerning tunes and style; they show a codified, local and regional praxis of singing in churches, which already existed before the launch of the hymnal of 1697—and which continued afterwards.[20]

As most congregations were small, rural, and poor, another practical fact was that many countryside churches had no functioning organ until in the nineteenth century, or even later. The congregational singing was led by the clergyman in charge or the parish clerk, as the bishop Emporagrius and others had prescribed. But they sang by ear, sometimes with the help of a fiddle or other instrument, used just for striking up the tune. The congregation, of course, sang by ear as well, and as this orally transmitted and orally performed singing was slow in tempo and moreover unaccompanied, the totality tended to become heterophonic; that is, individual singers simultaneously performed slightly different versions of the same tune. There are testimonials showing how the singers followed individual tempi, some of them ornamenting the tune, so that those who sang faster had to wait at the end of each phrase, and everybody

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20   Göransson, *Koralboken 1697* 31–35. There are studies (as far as I know only in Swedish and German) of the hand-written hymnals from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They constitute a research area of their own, which lies outside of this author's expertise.

started the next phrase at the same time. In congregations without choirs, which included nearly all country parishes, the aesthetic ideals were closer to oral tradition, and the ideal of disciplined metred singing had not yet penetrated the local culture.[21] Several expressions of traditional unaccompanied singing, found in many parts of Europe, tend to be slow and in free metre.[22]

This slow, free-metric and often ornamented singing style was commented upon by representatives of the Church and by travellers from the upper classes. Sometimes it was censured, e.g. by the song teacher C.A. Stieler, who as late as in 1820 complained: '[. . .] Even worse, and to an extent that one does not recognize the melody, one hears, especially in the country, the parish clerk sing the chorale putting all sorts of grace notes before the notes and dragging his voice from one note to another [. . .]'.[23] Other educated persons, however, found the popular singing styles very pleasant. The clergyman J.J. Öller presented the eighteenth century singing style in his parish in Blekinge as 'fairly beautiful even without an organ, as the people generally have good voices' and goes on to describe examples of heterophony and ornamentation.[24]

Furthermore, in some areas especially good singers among the congregation acted as lead singers. This practice is evident at least in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example from the Swedish-speaking population of the Estonian coast and islands.[25] The hymn variants collected from these

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21   Jersild – Åkesson, *Folklig koralsång* 43–52.

22   Brandl R., "New Considerations of Diaphony in Southeast Europe", in Ahmedaja A. – Haid G. (eds.), *European Voices 1. Multipart Singing in the Balkans and the Mediterranean* (Vienna: 2008) 280–281; Jersild M. – Ramsten M., "Grundpuls och lågt röstläge—två parametrar i folkligt sångsätt", *Sumlen* (1987) 132–146.

      One example of a practice similar (if not identical) to the Swedish one, in later times, is the hymn singing on the isles of Lewis and Harris, Scotland, which was recorded in the 1960s. Some sound recordings are accessible on the internet: http://www.tobarandualchais .co.uk [accessed: 1 April 2013] (search e.g.: Murdina MacDonald).

23   "Ännu värre och till den grad, att man ej en gång igenkänner melodien, hör man, i synnerhet på landet, klockaren sjunga choralen på det sätt, att han framför noterna sätter allehanda förslag och vid melodiens språng släpar sig med rösten från den ena tonen till den andra, ungefär i följande stil." Stieler C.A., *Lärobok I de första grunderna för musik och sång . . .* (Stockholm: 1820) 49, cited in Jersild – Akesson, *Folklig koralsång* 45–46. 'Dragging the voice' probably refers to the kind of glissando which has been common in traditional singing.

24   Jersild – Åkesson, *Folklig koralsång* 45.

25   Andersson O. (ed.), *Folkliga svenska koralmelodier från Gammalsvenskby och Estland* (Hedemora: 2003); Lippus U., "The Estonian Tradition of Folk Hymn Singing", in Bak K. Sass – Nielsen S. (eds.) *Spiritual Folk Singing. Nordic and Baltic Protestant Traditions* (Copenhagen: 2006) 41–65; Jersild – Åkesson, *Folklig koralsång* 126–130, 153–160.

singers in a later period are usually ornamented, sometimes very much so. Far from agreeing with the criticism against slow and ornamented singing, singers regarded their own performance as the correct and established way of expressing worship. When in 1929 a number of inhabitants of the Swedish-speaking diaspora village of Gammalsvenskby in Ukraine (once a site for expatriation from Estonia in the late eighteenth century) arrived in Sweden and were recorded by folklorists, several of them gave testimony of the close connection between old hymn tunes, singing style, and expression of faith. The singer Katarina Utas said: 'Nowadays they do not sing the beautiful and sad melodies as they once did.'[26] Most of the 44 hymn variants collected from her are richly ornamented. These records are certainly very late source material, but the diaspora group had maintained their hymns and singing style at least since the time of the empress Catherine the Great of Russia.[27] The ornamented singing has been compared to traditional embellishment in material culture, including textile handwork, wood carving, painting etc.[28]

The relationship between the hymnal tunes and the popular variants is illustrated in Fig. 2.4 and 2.5. Fig. 2.4 shows the hymn "Nu vilar hela jorden" ("Now the whole earth is resting") from the hymnal of 1697. The tune is from the German song "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen" (a sacred contrafactum of Heinrich Isaac's

FIGURE 2.4   *"Nu vilar hela jorden".* Den svenska psalmboken 1695. 1697 års koralbok
[*Facsimile*] (*Hedemora: 1985*) *735.*

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26   Andersson, *Folkliga svenska koralmelodier* 22.

27   Hedman J. – Åhlander L., *Gammalsvenskby. Historien om svenskarna i Ukraina* (Stockholm: 1993).

28   Cf. e.g. Glassie H., *The Spirit of Folk Art* (New York: 1995) 24–67.
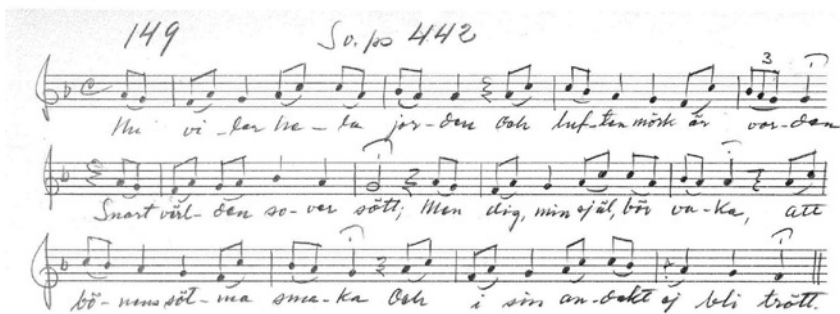
FIGURE 2.5   *"Nu vilar hela jorden", variant from Wormsi, Estonia. Fair copy by collector Olof*
             Andersson. Stockholm, Svenskt visarkiv, Folkmusikkommissionens notsamling och
             Musikmuseets spelmansböcker Volym: 11a:41 Svest 2.
             IMAGE © SVENSKT VISARKIV STOCKHOLM.

"Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen"). Fig. 2.5 shows a variant as sung by Sofia
Laktionoff, Wormsi, a formerly Swedish-speaking area in Estonia, collected in 1931.

Hymn Singing as Everyday Practice

Hymns were sung not only at church services but also in a domestic context.
In eighteenth-century Sweden there were many sparsely populated areas,
and many roads were in bad condition; not everybody could go all the way to
church each Sunday, but instead a prescribed service, including hymn singing,
was held in the home by the (male) head of the family. This domestic hymn
singing was of course always unaccompanied and gave plenty of space for
slow tempo and embellishments. Hymns were also sung during several kinds
of work, in the same way as vernacular songs. Hymn singing was performed in
the same milieus and, to a great extent, by the same individuals as other tra-
ditional music, both vocal and instrumental. This is one powerful reason why
elements such as tonality, types of embellishment, and performance style were
nearer to local, vernacular musical practice than to composed church music.
Some elements and characteristics typical of secular traditional music are to
be found in traditional hymn tunes; for example some hymn tunes are rather
like bridal marches in character, and some types of ornamentation are prob-
ably inspired by fiddlers' techniques.[29]

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29   Lippus U., "The Estonian Tradition" 41–65 and Sliužinskas R., "Lutheran Hymn Singing of
      the Klaipėda Region and its Interaction with Lithuanian Folk Singing Style" in the same
      anthology, 67–84.

Later, in the nineteenth century, the old style of hymn singing was gradually abolished from congregational singing in church following the introduction of another new hymnbook (published in 1819) and a new hymnal (published in 1821) with strictly syllabic tunes and four-part harmonies. During the whole nineteenth century more powerful organs were also gradually introduced in country churches. This development was not welcome among singers for whom the old hymn-singing style was close to their personal and local identity. There are reports of singers refusing to sing at all until the organist had learned their tune variants. In several congregations there were regular contests between cantors and newly created choirs on one side, singing the new syllabic tunes, and on the other side large parts of the congregation, singing in the way they were used to.[30] Once more the process of implementing a new hymnal was slow and met with much resistance. Gradually the old-style tradition of words, tunes, and performance style was continued only in a domestic setting and as part of individual practice, especially among older generations. This old style singing continued in some places as late as in the decades around 1900 and was documented—then mainly as a remembered tradition—in the mid-1900s.

From the various accounts as well as from the remaining traces of this singing tradition it is evident that people have felt reluctant about being told by far-off authorities how their singing should be performed. The conservative habits—or mental attitudes—surrounding the emotionally as well as religiously imprinted performance of hymns have very much to do with group identity. It is well known that it is difficult to implement a new hymnbook even today, in an era when so many people are used to perpetual change. Even in a secularized country like Sweden, hymns seem to be closely connected to the individual's childhood and school days, at least for the generations who had to learn hymns by heart. They are a part of a person's identity, like Christmas songs. Matters of faith have been conceived to a great extent as conservative throughout history, and hymn singing has for centuries been a central expression of faith for common people, an expression that has had its place in everyday life.

The tune variant that has been in use locally for a certain hymn for a number of generations can be interpreted as part of the local as well as religious identity of the village or parish. The material in the documentation made in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries consists wholly of individual variants collected from individual singers; there are also examples of slightly differing

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30   Dillmar A.,*"Dödshugget mot vår nationella tonkonst." Hæffnertidens koralreform i historisk, etnohymnologisk och musikteologisk belysning* (Lund: 2001); Jersild – Åkesson, *Folklig koralsång* 49–52.

versions documented from different individuals of the same family. With the domestication of the old style hymn singing, the song tradition as well as identity issues have become associated less with group or parish and more with the family and the individual. This process falls, however, mostly outside of the early modern period.

Singing, Embodied Knowledge and Identity

Another factor is that text, tune and performance are closely knitted together in a singing tradition that is mainly oral, or transmitted by ear. It is often difficult for a traditional singer to recite a song text without the tune, because what is memorized is the totality, words and melody. In traditional singing practice, especially when in slow tempo and free metre, the phonemes or sounds of the language, rather than the morphemes, tend to make up units. Small clusters of consonants and vowels, corresponding neither to the actual words nor syllables, and not carrying semantic meaning, seem to be the units that carry the performance of the melody, the phrasing and the ornamentation.[31]

All singing experience is grounded in the body of an individual, because the human body is the musical instrument; singing in a tradition which is learned by ear and supported by memory, undisciplined by singing teachers, choir leaders and accompaniment, tends to be an expression even more firmly grounded in the body of the singer. As a kind of embodied—and tacit—knowledge and skill it lies close to a person's individual identity.[32] The individual voice is crucial for a person's identity; that holds for the singing voice as well as for the speaking voice, dialect, gendered voice character and so on. This embodied and individual identity may be regarded as an element that reinforces a group and/or local identity that is connected to text, tune and singing style at a more conscious and outspoken level. This is, however, an area where more research and more discussion are needed.[33]

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31   Cf. Rosenberg S., *Lisa Boudrés sångliga och melodiska gestaltning i tre visor* (Stockholm: 1986) 65–69.

32   Csordas T.J., "Introduction: The body as representation and being-in-the-world", in Csordas T.J. (ed.), *Embodiment and experience. The existential ground of culture and self* (Cambridge: 1994) 1–24; Dunne L.C. – Jones N.A. (eds.), *Embodied voices. Representing female vocality in western culture* (Cambridge: 1994) 1–3; Elam K., "Körsång och lust. En undersökning av körsång som sinnlig aktivitet och erfarenhet", *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning Online* 12 (2009).

33   Identity issues in connection with music-making are often discussed in terms of ethnicity, nation state, gender, and class, as e.g. in Stokes M., "Introduction", in Stokes M. (ed.),

   As has been mentioned above, some rectors and bishops as well as travel-
ling gentry complained about the rural, ornamented, heterophonic hymn sing-
ing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and of the alleged strong and
loud vocal character that seems to have been common.[34] These characteristics
were not compatible with established musical taste in the upper classes, and,
even worse, conflicted with the Church authorities' interpretation of how reli-
gious singing should be performed. The 'Word of God' was to be carried forth
plainly, in a syllabic way, without melodic embellishments that might draw
the singers' and listeners' attention away from the content.[35] It is possible that
some Lutheran ideologues wanted to promote an ideal which was very unlike
the Gregorian chant, that being seen as representative of the Catholic singing.
For several decades, there has been a discussion among music scholars about
whether the traditional or popular song ideals—in vernacular as well as spiri-
tual singing—were influenced by remnants and elements of Gregorian style,
which might have lived on outside the church.[36]

Singing Practice and Identity Issues—Conclusions

One conclusion of the discussion is that the congregational and domestic
hymn singing in Swedish-speaking areas in the seventeenth and eighteenth
centuries profits from being regarded as situated in a number of tension fields.
One field can be identified as *central control and uniformity versus diversity and
local identity on the parish level*: as congregations adhered to existing practice,
implementation of prescribed and recommended repertoire and performance
style was slow and local identity was linked to traditional practice. Another
field comprehends *higher versus lower levels of church organization and society*:
while bishops and centrally placed rectors followed new recommendations,
country clergymen and parish clerks followed existing practice, partly due
to distances, poverty etc. A third field of tension is *rural versus urban culture*:

Ethnicity, Identity and Music. The Musical Construction of Place (Oxford – New York: 1997)
       1–27.

34   Jersild – Åkesson, *Folklig koralsång* 43–48.

35   Ibidem 43–48.

36   Moberg C.-A., "De folkliga koralvarianterna på Runö", *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*
       (1939) 9–47. Knudsen T., "Præmodal og pseudogregoriansk struktur i danske folkeviser",
       Dansk musiktidsskrift 32, 3 (1957) 63–68; Mathiassen F., "Gammeldansk folketonalitet.
       En introduktion til studiet af de tonale forhold i Danmarks gamle folkevisemelodier
       (DgF)", *Cæcilia Årbog* (1992–1993) 89–162; Bohlin, "Kyrkosången" 123–141.

choirs, which among other functions helped discipline congregational singing, were created early in diocese cities and other larger urban regions, while old singing practices were preserved in the countryside. The fourth field comprises *literate versus oral culture*: hymn singing is an area of traditional singing, which is situated at an intersection between, on the one hand literacy and fixed texts, represented by the hymnbooks, and on the other hand a musical oral tradition of melodic variation and free metre performance, which is extremely rich in diversity and variability. The last tension field comprehends *emphasis on the Holy Scripture and an ideal of plainness versus traditional performance and embellishment*: varying sets of aesthetics were prevalent in different parts of society.

I have sketched the situation surrounding traditional hymn singing as a local, embodied practice and attempted to show possible connections between singing and identity on a number of levels. In my discussion, the issue of group identity is not connected to one specific, discernible group, such as people of a certain trade, but rather to a more general pattern of local versus national identity. By regarding the practice of traditional hymn singing as situated within a number of tension fields, I have interpreted this process, which evolved over three to four centuries, as an ongoing negotiation of local, oral and aesthetic identity. I have tried to show how the diversified congregational singing during the first century after the Reformation paved the way for a strong local performance- and faith-related identity in parishes and villages; I have also discussed why this identity was strong enough to withstand the centralizing influence from the higher strata of the Church over a long period. One important factor is that spiritual singing was performed to a great extent in the same milieus and by the same individuals as vernacular singing, instrumental music and dance. This meant that, more or less, the same musical ideals and aesthetics prevailed within the different genres. Another factor is the connection to local, individual and embellished styles in material culture, which are also expressive aspects of identity. Finally, I have proposed that the embodied and individual identity connected to the (physical and vocal) practice of hymn singing forms a part of, and reinforces, a group and local identity which is at a more conscious and outspoken level connected to text, tune and singing style.

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Performing Pietism in the Peatlands: Songs in the Manuscript Miscellany of a Village Schoolmaster in the Dutch Republic between 1750 and 1800

Nelleke Moser*

In the early modern era, most people viewed themselves and others through a religious lens, both inside and outside the pews. Religion functioned as a narrative frame that helped construct a social identity and make sense of the world.[1] In this article I will discuss how songs were used in the process of shaping, displaying and confirming a religious identity in everyday life, more specifically a pietistic identity in a Dutch rural community in the second half of the eighteenth century. Even though the seventeenth-century origins and the overall development of early modern Dutch pietism (commonly referred to as 'the Further Reformation') have been studied thoroughly, scholars such as Els Stronks and Fred van Lieburg have suggested that further research is needed on local communities in the eighteenth century in order to fully assess the consequences of this piety offensive within the Dutch Reformed Church.[2]

I seek to contribute to this discussion by focusing on the village of Zevenhoven in the province of Holland, where local schoolmaster Cornelis van der Schelling (1735–1817) propagated pietism through a collection of songs written for his family, friends and fellow believers. Zevenhoven is situated in the centre of the triangle formed by The Hague, Utrecht and Amsterdam, an

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1 Frijhoff W., *Fulfilling God's Mission. The Two Worlds of Dominie Everardus Bogardus 1607–1647* (Leiden: 2007) 17.

2 Stronks E., *Stichten of schitteren. De poëzie van zeventiende-eeuwse gereformeerde predikanten* (Houten: 1996) 144; Lieburg F. van, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture. The Further Reformation in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic", in Graham W. Fred (ed.), *Later Calvinism. International Perspectives* (Kirksville: 1994) 422. Van Lieburg recently provided a micro-analysis of events in the pietistic community of Willemstad in 1757, pleading for further research of 'social communities outside the official church congregation', especially in the eighteenth century (Lieburg F. van, "Experiential Protestantism and Emotional Communities. A Case-Study of an Eighteenth-Century Ego-Document", BMGN—*Low Countries Historical Review* 129, 2 (2014) 131).

area where pietism appears to have flourished.[3] In the eighteenth century, Zevenhoven was located in the middle of peatlands. By the end of the eighteenth century the village had 646 inhabitants, many of them working as peat-cutters and blacksmiths.[4] Van der Schelling set out to encourage these people to sing. Between 1762 and 1813 he composed a manuscript miscellany containing a large number of poems and over twenty songs, written for special occasions such as birthdays and weddings of family and friends, religious meetings, and events related to the House of Orange.[5] The subtext of his songs is invariably religious, and overall clearly pietistic.

The main question of this article is: how did the songs in Van der Schelling's notebook display his own religious identity and shape and confirm the identity of the pietistic community of Zevenhoven? Answering this question will not only provide information on this particular case, but may also improve the understanding of manuscript song collections as part of a social culture that thrived on the performance and exchange of songs and texts.[6] Manuscripts had an important place in pietistic culture. Individuals would write down their spiritual experiences, believers would copy songs from songbooks and schoolmasters would write poems for their pupils.[7] Before introducing Cornelis van der Schelling and his notebook in more detail, I will briefly describe the background and main characteristics of the pietistic movement in

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3   Lieburg F. van, *Living for God. Eighteenth-Century Dutch Pietist Autobiography* (Lanham, Maryland – Toronto – Oxford: 2006) 30, 95.

4   Bakker R. – Ollefen L. van, *De Nederlandsche stad- en dorpbeschrijver* (1791 and 1811), consulted online at http://www.streekarchiefrijnlandsmidden.nl/themas/dorpsbeschrijvingen/zeven hoven-en-noorden-aan-het-einde-van-de-achttiende-eeuw [accessed: 16 October 2014].

5   Schelling Cornelis van der, *Digt Memoriaal Van Verscheyde Versen en Gezangen Bij Differente gelegendheeden In Rijm gebragt. En voor Eijge Memorie hier in Geregistreerd door mij C:V:D Schelling Schoolmeester te Zevenhoven. Van den Jaare 1762 af.* University Library Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, ms. xv.00126. Earlier articles on this collection: Heijting W., "Het Digt Memoriaal van C. van der Schelling I. Een Zevenhovens ego-document, 1762–1815", *De Baardman* 20 (1994) 17–24; Heijting W., "Het Digt Memoriaal van C. van der Schelling II. De gedichten", *De Baardman* 28 (1998) 9–16 and Moser N., "Oorlog? Welke oorlog? Herinneren en vergeten in het Digt Memoriaal (1762–1815) van Cornelis van der Schelling", in Geerdink N. – Jensen L. (eds.), *Oorlogsliteratuur in de vroegmoderne tijd. Vorm, identiteit en herinnering* (Hilversum: 2013) 163–181. The author of this article, together with a group of students, is currently preparing an edition of the manuscript, to be published online with the Huygens Institute in The Hague.

6   Ezell M., *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore – London: 1999) 24–25 and 44.

7   Van Lieburg, *Living for God* 158; Stronks, *Stichten en schitteren* 107, 135–136, 142. W.J. Op 't Hof is currently preparing a volume of articles on reformed Pietism, in which he pays full attention to 'scribal piety', the role of manuscripts in the dissemination of translated Pietistic texts.

the Netherlands. I will then show how Van der Schelling's songs fit within the pietistic tradition by discussing his use of a typically pietistic jargon and his references to pivotal authors associated with the Further Reformation. Finally, I will discuss how Van der Schelling sought to engage his fellow villagers in singing.
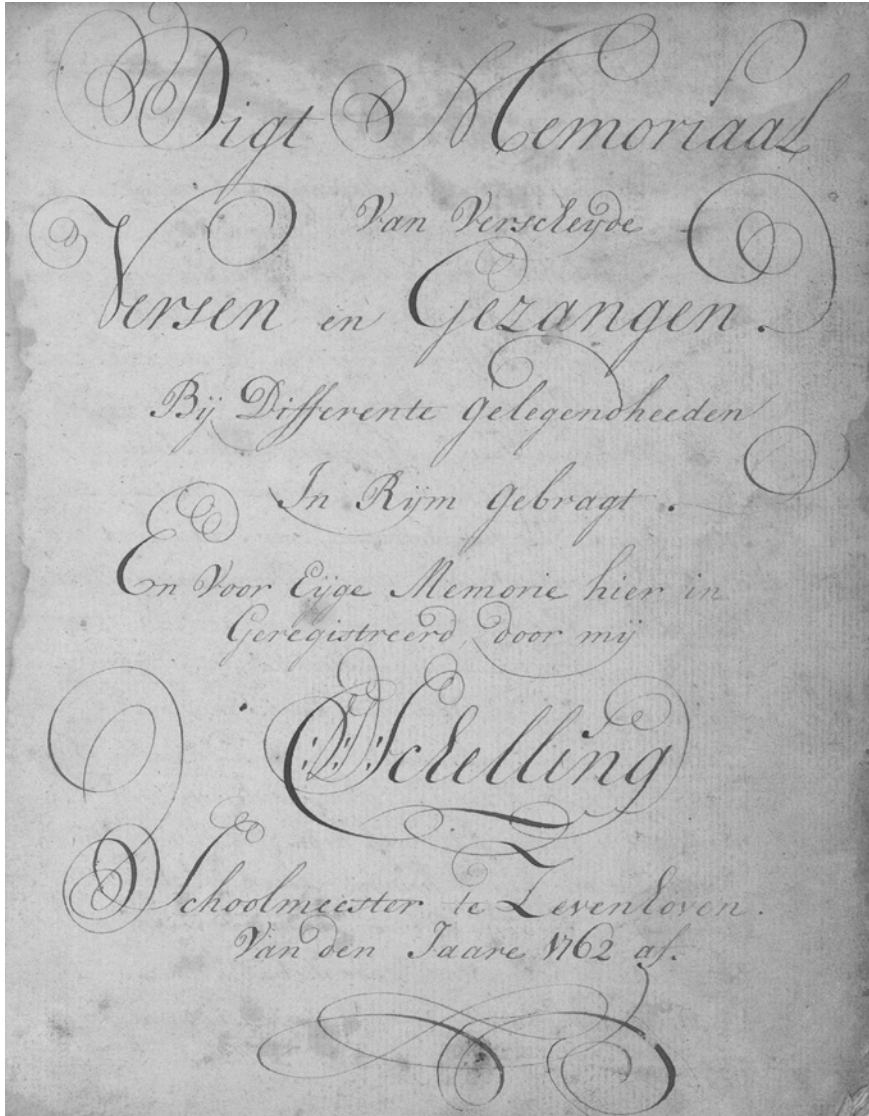
FIGURE 3.1 *Cornelis van der Schelling,* Digt Memoriaal (*between 1762 and 1815*) *title page. Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Universiteit, XV.00126.*
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM.

Dutch Reformed Pietism in the Eighteenth Century: Background and Characteristics

Eighteenth-century Dutch pietism was part of a larger 'piety offensive' that started in a seventeenth century reform movement within the Dutch Reformed Church. This earlier reform movement, which was in part inspired by English puritanism, has been coined the 'Further Reformation' (Nadere Reformatie).[8] The ideas of the Further Reformation have been neatly summed up by Fred van Lieburg:

> As a manifestation of Pietism, the Further Reformation was primarily a movement for the advancement of true piety: living in the sight of God. Religion was supposed to be a matter of the heart, spirit, and conscience; only that could be the proper source of all other expressions of piety in personal behavior in the family, church, city or village, and society as a whole. [...] [T]he Further Reformers subjected the lives of their contemporaries to heavy criticism. According to them the hearts of the Reformed of the seventeenth century were unreformed: Their attitude towards service to God was marked by tepidness, indifference, and ignorance.[9]

Other important characteristics were 'the inner experience of faith' and 'personal self-examination'.[10] Belonging to the Further Reformation was not a strictly individual matter, however. According to Van Lieburg, it 'meant both to be part of a group and shape the culture of others'.[11] In the course of the seventeenth century, adherents of the Further Reformation developed their very own culture (or 'sociocultural form of expression', as Van Lieburg words it), which was reinforced by the disapproval of their surroundings. They had their own clothing (black and sober) and idiom (the so-called 'language of Canaan', a typical discourse and vocabulary full of biblical references that is hard to understand for outsiders).[12] They also physically set themselves

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8   Van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture" 418–419. Also: Op 't Hof W.J., *Het gereformeerd piëtisme* (Houten 2005) 52–59, 85–86.

9   Van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture" 414, 416–418.

10 Ibidem, 414.

11 Lieburg F. van, "De receptie van de Nadere Reformatie in Utrecht", *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 5 (1989) 120–121.

12 Van Lieburg, "De receptie" 123–124; Van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture" 426, 429; Eijnatten J. van – Lieburg F. van, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* (Hilversum: 2006) 225; Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 49, 116; Van Lieburg, "Experiential Protestantism" 122; Ketterij C. van de, "Het literaire werk uit de 18e eeuw en zijn piëtistische kontekst:

apart from the official church by organising conventicles, religious meetings outside church services where the faithful would pray, sing and discuss their conversion.[13] 'True conversion' was what they aimed for, instead of being superficially reformed and following the letter of the law. A fervent advocate of conventicles was the Utrecht minister and poet Jodocus van Lodenstein (1620–1677), who also composed songs to be sung on such occasions.[14] He believed that singing was especially suited to help people to focus on the spiritual instead of the worldly.[15] Around 1680, the Further Reformation gradually came to an end, partly because the main leaders of the movement had died.[16] This did not mean the end of pietism however, for the conventicles had created 'a widespread pietist subculture, that would flourish again in the eighteenth century'.[17] A difference from the earlier Further Reformation was that eighteenth-century pietists focused on 'the exchange of experiences among the devout', whereas Further Reformers had been primarily concerned with 'the restoration of church and society'.[18]

From the beginning, both the government and the official church had been wary of the pietistic movement because of a perceived disruptive influence on society.[19] In the first half of the eighteenth century there were several conflicts and attempts to put an end to the pietistic activities. One particularly controversial author was Wilhelmus Schortinghuis, who published *Het innige christendom* ('Inner [or Internal] Christianity') in 1740, a series of dialogues on

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enkele linguale verificatiemodellen toegepast op de poëzie van Hiëronymus van Alphen", *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* (1974) 14–34.

13   Van Lieburg, *Living for God* 143; Op 't Hof, *Het gereformeerd piëtisme* 91–92.

14   Van Lieburg, "De receptie van de Nadere Reformatie" 123.

15   Stronks E. – Strien T. van, *Het hart naar boven. Religieuze poëzie uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: 1999) 203; Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 108, 115, 117–119, 121, 130.

16   Van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture" 418, 422–423. W.J. Op 't Hof argues that it is impossible to pinpoint the end of the Further Reformation. While in the final decades of the seventeenth century there are signs that the movement is on the wane, traces of the impact of the Further Reformation are still discernable in the eighteenth century (Graafland C. – Op 't Hof W. – Van Lieburg F.A., "Nadere Reformatie: opnieuw een poging tot begripsbepaling", *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 19 (1995) 105–184, especially 165–169).

17   Van Eijnatten – Van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* 221; Van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture" 428.

18   Van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture" 429, 416.

19   Van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture" 421; Van Eijnatten – Van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* 219, 225–226.

how to reach true conversion.[20] Ministers thought Schortinghuis's book was harmful because it propagated the organisation of conventicles and because Schortinghuis and his followers prohibited others from joining the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The church was particularly concerned about the judgmental view of so-called 'converted' believers on their fellow Christians, which led to the image of pietists as contentious know-it-alls. In spite of these tensions, according to Van Eijnatten and Van Lieburg early modern Dutch pietism never posed a serious threat to the established religious communities.[21] The true impact of the movement, however, remains to be uncovered. Most attention has been paid to the urban centres and to the importance of the printing press for the distribution of pietistic ideas.[22] The handwritten notebook from Cornelis van der Schelling offers a rather unique source to further explore the ways in which a particular rural community experienced pietism, because the poems were written in a well-defined period of time and address a limited audience.[23] It contains various indications that he contributed to the 'local, collective, cultural formation among pious Reformed persons' signalled by Van Lieburg.[24]

The Village Schoolmaster as a Pivotal Figure

Cornelis van der Schelling was born in Nieuwveen (near Zevenhoven) in January 1735 in a reasonably influential family.[25] While his father was a master carpenter, one uncle was a member of the local government and as such responsible for maintaining infrastructure (dikes, locks, and roads), collecting tax and mediating in conflicts; another uncle was schoolmaster in Zevenhoven.

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20   Schortinghuis Wilhelmus, *Het innige christendom tot overtuiginge van onbegenadigde, bestieringe en opwekkinge van begenadigde zielen, in desselfs allerinnigste en wesentlikste deelen gestaltelik en bevindelik voorgestelt in t'zamenspraken* (Groningen, Jurgen Spandaw: 1740).

21   Van Eijnatten – Van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* 225–227.

22   Van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture" 422–423.

23   He was not the only schoolmaster, however, to compose a manuscript collection like this. Adriaen de Vin in Zealand and Feiko Feikens in Friesland, to name but a few examples, may very well be compared to Van der Schelling (Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 134–135).

24   Van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture" 426.

25   The biographical information in this section was first published in Heijting, "Een Zevenhovens ego-document" 23, Heijting; "De gedichten" 14 and Moser, "Oorlog? Welke oorlog?" 166–168. Detailed references to Dutch archives and resources are mentioned in these articles.

When this uncle died in 1757, Cornelis was able to take his position. Two years after settling in Zevenhoven he married Antje van Geijlik from Mijdrecht, a neighbouring village. When she passed away he married Trijntje Baas from Zevenhoven in 1793, who had one daughter. Van der Schelling himself never fathered any children.

Van der Schelling was to become a pivotal figure in Zevenhoven's educational system, religious practice, financial affairs and administration. To begin with, the schoolmaster's job traditionally came with a number of functions in the local church, which meant that Van der Schelling functioned as deacon of the poor ('Diacon'),[26] sexton and precentor ('opperzanger').[27] In later years, he is also mentioned as a member of the local administration, from tax collector and (replacement of the) bailiff to alderman, and finally as mayor ('maire') of Zevenhoven in 1813, during the French sovereignty. Besides his official duties Van der Schelling was interested in engineering and water management. As a result of turf cutting a lake had formed between Nieuwkoop and Zevenhoven, and the village was regularly flooded during storms.[28] Van der Schelling strongly advocated draining this lake.[29] He seems to have had a keen eye for financial opportunities as well. He purchased and sold land in and around Zevenhoven, bought stock auctions,[30] and together with his first wife joined a society that guaranteed a sum of money for the elderly. His seemingly natural affinity for financial and administrative matters also explains the fact that more than once he functioned as the executor of wills.

In addition to all this, between 1762 and 1815, Cornelis van der Schelling composed a manuscript collection containing poems and songs on events in his own life, in his village and in the Dutch Republic. The full title of his collection is *Digt Memoriaal Van Verscheyde Versen en Gezangen Bij Differente*

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26   National Archives, The Hague: DTB Zevenhoven, 3.04.17.126, inv.nr. *1.11*, scan 8 mentions Cornelis van der Schelling as 'Diacon van wegen de Diaconie armen van Woubrugge' (Deacon of the poor in Woubrugge).

27   Heijting mentions the role of sexton and precentor (Heijting, "Een Zevenhovens ego-document" 23 and Heijting, "De gedichten" 14). In his poem on the new Psalm translations, Van der Schelling refers to his function as precentor ('opperzanger') (*Digt Memoriaal* fol. 49r–v).

28   Riet A.J.J. van 't, *'Meeten, boren en besien'. Turfwinning in de buitenrijnse ambachten van het Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland 1680–1800* (Hilversum: 2005) 252, 258–259, 270, 307, 327.

29   He drew a map of a polder in the area (National Archives, The Hague, Koninklijke Instituut van Ingenieurs (KIVI), 1606–1979, 4.KIVI, inv.nr. 282 on www.gahetna.nl [accessed: 16 October 2014]). He also read books about water management and wrote poems about it (*Digt Memoriaal* fol. 8r–v, 19v, and on an unnumbered page just before fol. 50r).

30   *Digt Memoriaal* fol. 9r.

*gelegendheeden In Rijm gebragt. En voor Eijge Memorie hier in Geregistreerd door
mij C:V:D Schelling Schoolmeester te Zevenhoven. Van den Jaare 1762 af* ('Verse
chronicle of various poems and songs composed in rhyme on different occa-
sions and registered here for my own memory by me Cornelis van der Schelling
schoolmaster in Zevenhoven from the year 1762 onwards') [Fig. 3.1]. The col-
lection consists of roughly three main sections, interlaced with unnumbered
quires inserted at a later stage. The first series can be characterized mainly as
social poetry, such as riddles, songs and poems on birthdays, weddings and
funerals of friends and family, poems to accompany an item (book or coat) that
was borrowed or lent, and writing examples for his pupils. The second series
(fol. 29v and onwards) consists chiefly of religious poems and songs, including
songs intended to be sung in unison at religious gatherings, poems in defence
of the new psalm translation,[31] and poems of advice to fellow believers. The
third series (from fol. 50r onwards) consists for the larger part of poems on
national events, in praise of Stadtholder William V and his family, and scolding
the Patriots and Napoleon.[32]

The fact that in the title of the collection Van der Schelling professes that
he noted down his texts 'for his own memory' does not mean that he was the

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31   *Digt Memoriaal* fol. 48r–49v: 'Op de Nieuwe Psalm Berijming Uijtgekomen, op Last van
     haar Ed*ele* Groot Mog*endheden. In den Jaare 1773*' ('On the new psalm translation, pub-
     lished on behalf of the States in the year 1773'); followed by 'Op het Bedillen van het
     woord Ay, in de Nieuwe Psalm Berijming' ('On criticizing the use of the word 'Ay' in the
     new psalm translation'). Van der Schelling wrote these poems in favour of the new psalm
     translations that were commissioned by the States General to replace the 'rough' psalm
     texts in Dutch by Petrus Datheen, which had been used since 1566. While paying due
     respect to Datheen, as a precentor (and poet) Van der Schelling considers the new trans-
     lation to be a major literary and linguistic improvement.

32   In the 1780s, a group of Dutch citizens became growingly dissatisfied with the attitude
     of Stadtholder William V of Orange. These 'Patriots', as they called themselves, objected
     to his connections with England, his incompetence in military matters and the dynastic
     aspirations of the House of Orange. When in 1787 the Patriots were repressed by William V
     with the help of the Prussian army, many fled to France where they found like-minded
     revolutionaries and where they made plans to overthrow the rule of William V and install
     a democratic government. They returned in 1795, when the French had conquered the
     Netherlands and William V left for England. The Patriots were now in charge of the Dutch
     Republic (now called the 'Batavian Republic'). In 1806, Napoleon Bonaparte appointed his
     brother as king over the Netherlands. From 1810 to 1813, the Netherlands were part of the
     French empire under Napoleon Bonaparte. During all these years Van der Schelling, who
     was in favour of the House of Orange, kept his feelings to himself and managed to secure
     and even improve his position in the village. On Van der Schelling's political tactics, see
     Moser, "Oorlog? Welke oorlog?".

sole reader. This collection probably was intended to be an archive of his own textual production. At the same time, copies of these texts would be handed out to the intended audience, be it family members, school children or fellow believers.[33] From the manuscript itself we can tell that he did in fact have a larger audience in mind. He added a preface to 'whoever may get hold of this chronicle', in which he claims that edifying his next of kin was his main concern. Indeed, as a deacon, Van der Schelling was expected to set a good example to believers, especially in pietist circles.[34] As a school teacher and precentor, he was well placed to exert influence. His manuscript shows that he continually advises and criticizes his family and friends in religious matters. A fellow believer who intends to burn the notes of her 'conversation with God' is warned by Van der Schelling not to do so (fol. 34r). To another woman he sends a copy of Schortinghuis' controversial book *Het innige christendom*, together with a poem urging her to convert (fol. 28r–29r). In a similar vein Van der Schelling writes a birthday poem for his pregnant sister in which he calls on her to repent and convert before she gives birth (fol. 18v). When a fellow believer passes away, he writes a poem remembering how vividly she spoke of her conversion (fol. 67v).[35] Most of these poems are addressed to women. This focus on women as recipients for didactic writings may be rooted in the fact that there were more women than men in the movement (during the 'conversion rage' around 1750 it was mainly women and children who would experience their conversion within conventicles),[36] but perhaps also in the perceived need of women as inferior beings to receive instruction. It has already been mentioned that the seventeenth-century minister Lodenstein propagated

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33   Compare what Jeroen Blaak writes about the practice of the seventeenth-century Dutch schoolmaster David Beck, who composed a similar collection of his own poems: 'Disseminating copies of poems was the second channel through which manuscripts were published, examples including the many poems that Beck provided on request, such as those written for Christina Poppings and Jacob Hendricks. But Beck never parted with a poem until it had been transcribed into his "great book". Sometimes he would copy out poems from his book and send them off to people' (Blaak Jeroen, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries* (Leiden: 2009) 74).

34   Handing out criticism was a regular practice among pietists, cf. Van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture" 416–417. Also Van Lieburg, "Experiential Protestantism" 120: 'Calvinists believe that as the faithful are not yet in heaven, they struggle against the devil, the world and their own sinful "flesh". In that struggle the mutual contacts in circles of friends and fellow believers have a supportive and constructive function.'

35   See for similar testimonies by women Van Lieburg, "Experiential Protestantism" 122–123.

36   Van Eijnatten – Van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* 227; Op 't Hof, *Het gereformeerd piëtisme* 91; Van Lieburg, "Experiential Protestantism" 121.

singing to support the process of conversion, and in the eighteenth century as well it was thought that singing 'served an intermediary function in the spiritual community of God with his children'.[37] The next section will show how Van der Schelling used his songs to display, shape and confirm a pietistic identity in Zevenhoven, following in the footsteps of two pivotal pietistic authors, Jodocus van Lodenstein and Wilhelmus Schortinghuis.

Van der Schelling's Songs as Instruments in a Pietistic Offensive

Van der Schelling's collection contains twenty-two songs.[38] The earliest is from 1766, the latest from 1793, but most (seventeen out of twenty-two) were written between 1770 and 1780. There are three songs for social occasions, four songs related to national events, and fifteen to be used in religious meetings or individual contemplation. All songs have a religious subtext.

Van der Schelling started by writing songs on national events. They are mainly concerned with events in the House of Orange, to wit the installation of William V as Stadholder in 1766 [Fig. 3.2], the wedding of William V and Wilhelmina of Prussia in 1767, and the birth of Willem Frederik, son of William V, in 1772 (appendix 1, nr. 19–21).[39] In the installation song and the wedding song Van der Schelling expresses his joy about these events. He asks for God's blessing and praises the House of Orange in a stereotypical way. The birth song for Willem Frederik is a dialogue between two characters (A and B) who discuss national history from the Dutch Revolt until 1772. Historical events are mentioned in the lyrics, while the exact dates are offered in the margins of the text, together with references to the bible, comparing the Stadholders to biblical heroes and the Dutch Republic to Israel. The only song on a national event after 1772 is a song on a military victory against the French and the Patriots in 1793 (appendix 1, nr. 22). According to Van der Schelling, the revolutionaries' misconception of freedom caused them to forsake God and to

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37   Van Lieburg, "Experiential Protestantism" 124.

38   See appendix 1. All texts that carry a tune indication were included (21 texts in total). To this corpus I have added one text that does not carry a tune indication, because the inscriptions of the final stanzas indicate that the text is a song ('tegenzang' and 'toezang'). The formal aspects of this text also suggest that it is a song: long and short lines of poetry have been alternated, and it has an irregular meter. On using these criteria for the identification of song lyrics, see Bruin M. de – Oosterman J. (eds.), *Repertorium van het Nederlandse lied tot 1600. Repertory of Dutch songs until 1600*, 2 vols. (Ghent: 2001) vol. 1, 25–26 and Grijp L.P., *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: 1991) 41.

39   Moser, "Oorlog? Welke oorlog?" 170–176.
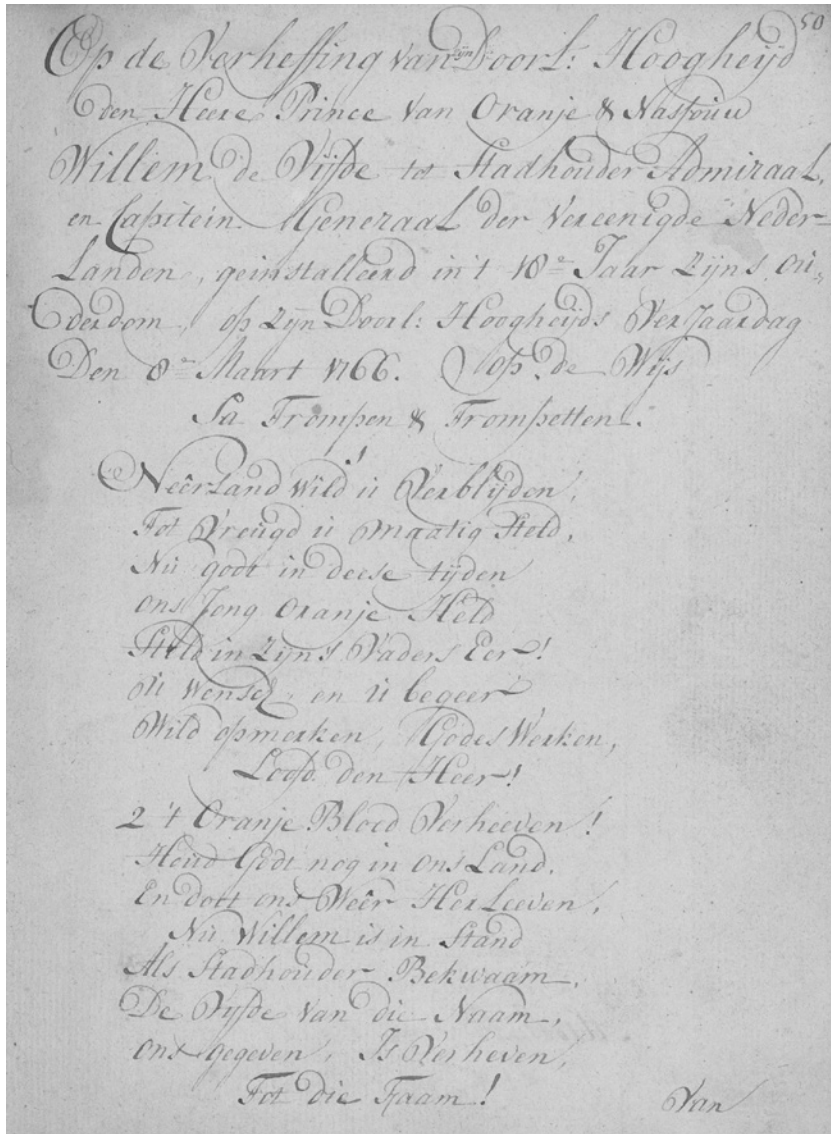
FIGURE 3.2 *Song on the installation of William v as Stadholder (8 March 1766). Cornelis van der Schelling*, Digt Memoriaal (*between 1762 and 1815), fol. 50r. Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Universiteit, xv.00126.*

destroy churches, organs and bibles. He urges the Patriots not to join 'French Egypt' (a biblical reference in which he draws a parallel between the Dutch being suppressed by France and the people of Israel being suppressed by Egypt's Farao) but to return to the shade of 'the orange tree' (a traditional symbol of the House of Orange). The final message of the song however is directed to 'true Christians'. They should thank God for his help and express their joy.

Between 1770 and 1772, Van der Schelling wrote three songs for social occasions among family and friends. In 1770 he wrote a birthday song for his cousin Magteld van der Schelling (appendix 1, nr.1).[40] It is full of biblical lessons and contemplations on the ephemeral character of life. In 1771 he wrote a wedding song for his pietistic acquaintances Jacobus Kuijlenburg and Marritje Verweij from Zevenhoven, whom Van der Schelling did not know very well but recently discovered to belong to the same religious group, or 'the people who consider Christ as their Saviour' ('dat Volk Dat Christus voor hun Heijland hiel!') (appendix 1, nr. 2). In the song Van der Schelling stresses the secluded nature of the pietistic community. First he feigns surprise about their marriage, since both of them were already engaged to be married—to Christ, that is. He then says that if one really must marry, one should avoid a bride from 'worldly Canaan' ('Waereldts Canäan') and choose a bride from one's own circle instead. Moreover, they should take care that passion does not extinguish their love for Christ: God should always be part of their marriage.[41] In 1772 he wrote a wedding song for family members living outside Zevenhoven. The text (with adaptations) serves two weddings in one, namely of his cousin Klaas Oostenrijk and Anna van der Mark in Koudekerk aan den Rijn (in Holland) and of distant relatives Andries Cloeting and Maria Boele in Amsterdam (appendix 1, nr. 3). This song introduces spring as a time for singing and making love, with ample references to the bible (e.g. the Psalms and the Song of Songs) [Fig. 3.3].

From 1768 onwards, Van der Schelling focused on writing religious songs. They fit in very well with the pietistic tradition and were probably sung in conventicles. Eight out of the fifteen songs are so called 'zielzuchten' ('soul sighs'), a genre characteristic for the sensitive approach within the pietistic

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40   The poem is addressed to an anonymous person who celebrated their 39th birthday on 'the fourth of this month' in 1770. That this refers to Magteld van der Schelling may be deduced from the fact that Van der Schelling also wrote a birthday poem for her fortieth birthday on 4 February 1771 (fol. 13v).

41   The same attitude is mentioned by Van Lieburg in "Experiential Protestantism" 119. He speaks of 'a triangle of relationships in which the tie between God and the faithful ranks higher than the one between two people, even husband and wife.'
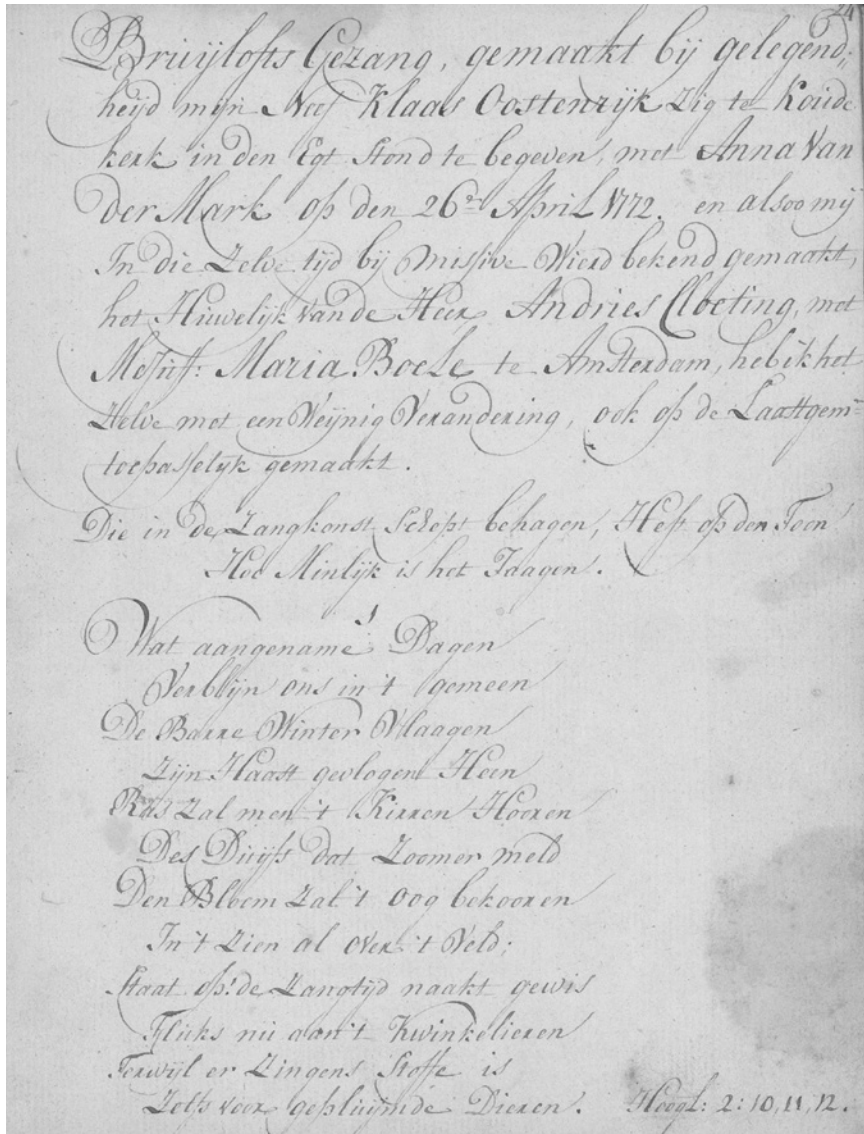
FIGURE 3.3 *Wedding song ('Bruijlofts Gezang') for Klaas Oostenrijk and Anna van der Mark, with alterations also used for Andries Cloeting and Maria Boele (1772). Cornelis van der Schelling,* Digt Memoriaal *(between 1762 and 1815), fol. 24r. Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Universiteit, XV.00126.*

IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM.
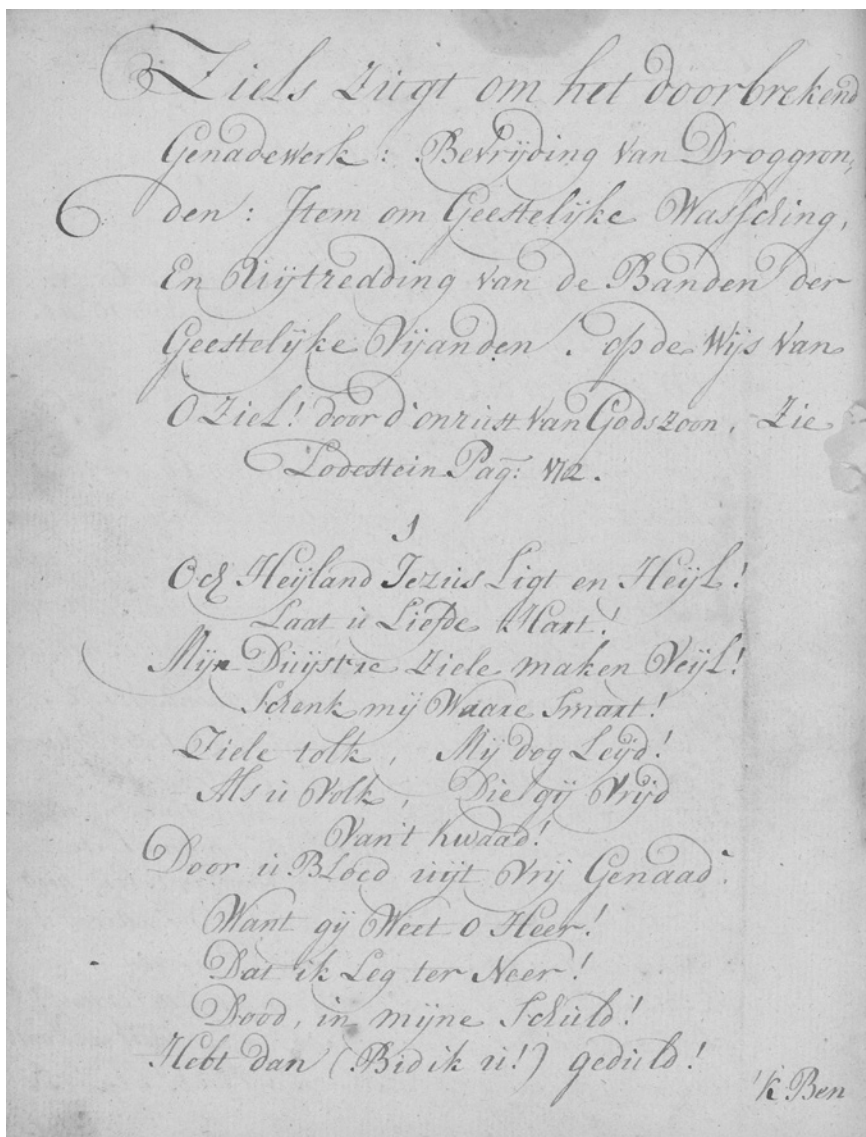
FIGURE 3.4　*A religious 'sigh' ('Ziels zugt') to a tune by Lodestein. Cornelis van der Schelling,* Digt Memoriaal (*between 1762 and 1815*), *fol. 34v. Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Universiteit, XV.00126.*
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM.

movement (appendix i, nrs. 4, 5, 11–16).[42] These are long poems with a lyrical subject longing for Jesus, asking to be washed, guided, freed, or enlightened, while at the same time representing the self as foolish, blind, weak and unworthy of God's grace. The sighs are full of bitter reproaches to one's self followed by exclamation marks, and very characteristic of the language of Canaan [Fig. 3.4]. Besides these 'soul sighs', Van der Schelling's collection contains one song about a walk on a muddy road to attend a church service in a nearby village, with an allegorical explanation for the slippery path of the believer (appendix i, nr. 6), one sung prayer for a child (written as an acrostic on the child's name) (appendix i, nr. 7), two songs intended to be sung at the beginning and ending of a religious gathering (appendix i, nrs. 8, 9), and three songs of a general pietistic nature, contemplating the revelation and acceptance of God's grace from the viewpoint of an individual believer (appendix i, nrs. 10, 17, 18) [Fig. 3.5].

Van der Schelling's songs fit in with the general pietistic tradition, but two authors in particular seem to have served as a source of inspiration: Jodocus van Lodenstein, whose songbook *Uyt-Spanningen* ('Leisures') from 1676 was very popular among pietists,[43] and Wilhelmus Schortinghuis, who (following Lodenstein's example) wrote two songbooks, *Geestelike Gesangen* ('Religious songs') (1727) and *Bevindelike Gesangen* ('Sensitive songs') (1729).[44] The influence of Lodenstein and Schortinghuis is apparent in Van der Schelling's tune indications, text types, pietistic idiom, biblical references and performative strategies. When it comes to tune indications, the link with Lodenstein is a direct one, for in five of his songs Van der Schelling refers to a tune by Lodenstein, including the page number of the *Uyt-Spanningen*.[45] The page

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42 Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 126.

43 Lodenstein Jodocus van, *Uyt-Spanningen Behelsende eenige stigtelyke liederen en andere gedigten*, ed. by L. Strengholt (Utrecht: 2005). On his popularity: Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 125–128, 138; Van Lieburg, "Experiential Protestantism" 123.

44 Schortinghuis Wilhelmus, *Geestelike Gesangen tot Ontdekkinge, Overtuiginge, Bestieringe, en Opwekkinge van Allerley Soorten van Menschen, So Onbekeerde, als ook Bekeerde, Als mede Enige Beknopte Gesangen over de voornaamste Goddelyke Waarheden.* […] (Groningen, Jurjen Spandaw: 1727) and Schortinghuis Wilhelmus, *Bevindelike Gesangen vertonende een uitverkoren sondaar I. In syne Natuirstaat. II. An sig selfs Ontdekt, en III. Geheyligt* (Groningen, Jurjen Spandaw: 1729). On Lodenstein's influence on Schortinghuis, see Lodenstein Jodocus van, *Bloemlezing uit de bundel Uyt-spanningen*, ed. P.J. Buijnsters (Zutphen: [1971]) 11; Ketterij C. van de, "Christen zijn in de tale Kanaäns", *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 64 (1971) 382–390, esp. 388.

45 Appendix ii: b–e.
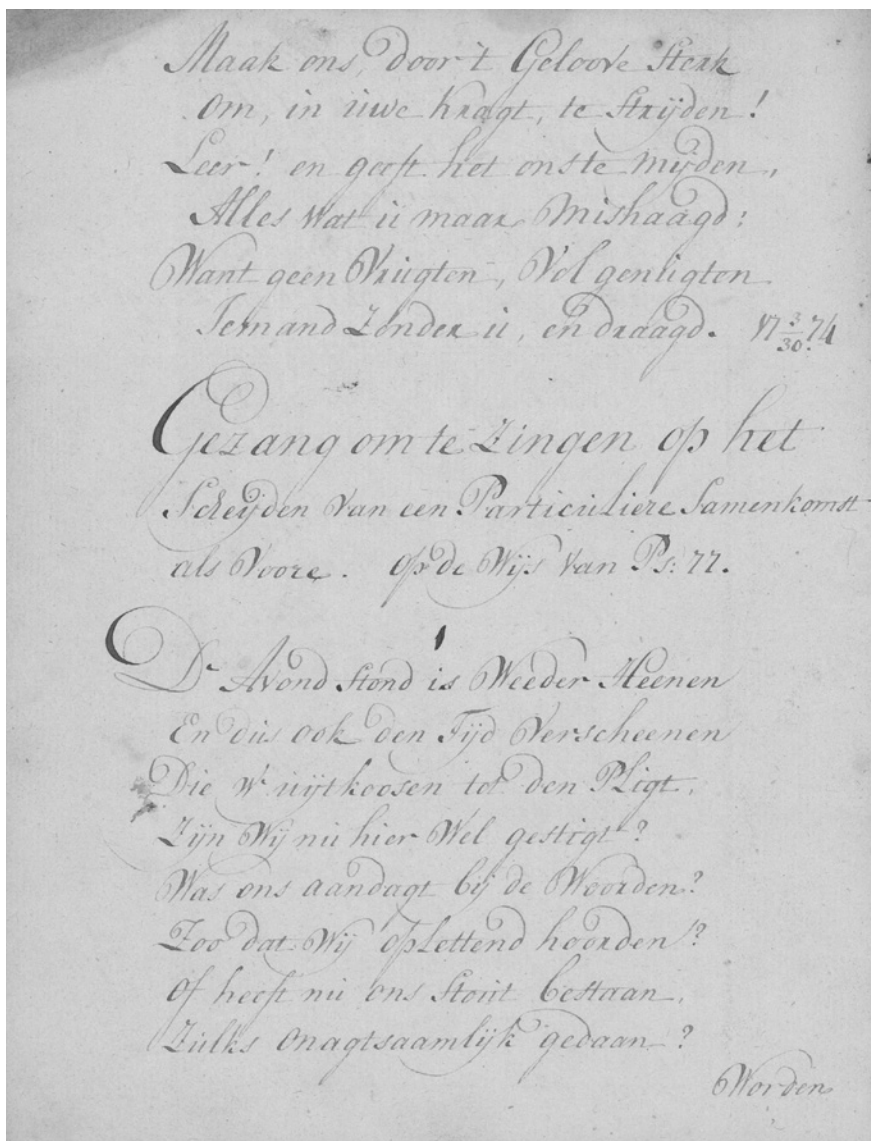
FIGURE 3.5   *Song to end a religious meeting (1774). Cornelis van der Schelling,* Digt Memoriaal
              (*between 1762 and 1815), fol. 43v. Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Universiteit,*
              XV.00126.
              IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM.

numbers reveal that Van der Schelling must have used the fourteenth edition of Lodenstein's songbook, published in 1760 with an added explanation for 'Zang-Meesteren' ('singing instructors') who wanted to be able to accompany the songs with a musical instrument.[46] This edition was published by Joannes Kannewet in Amsterdam, who also printed many other songbooks, schoolbooks, texts and engravings in praise of the House of Orange, and religious literature.[47] With regards to tune indications, the link with Schortinghuis is less straightforward. It comes down to the fact that a number of the tune indications we find in Van der Schelling were used by Schortinghuis as well. They include religious melodies (psalm melodies, with a preference for psalm 77, and the tune of the Ten Commandments)[48] as well as worldly melodies, such as the contemporary popular tune of "Geeft een aalmoes voor den blinde" ("Give alms to the blind man")[49] which Van der Schelling used several times, and three seventeenth-century songs, one by the popular moralist author Jacob Cats ("Schoon bloemgewas" ("Beautiful flowers")).[50] Then again, this mixture of religious and worldly tunes was common practice among Reformed poets in general, and the tunes were already very popular, so Van der Schelling does not necessarily have to have drawn inspiration from Schortinghuis in this respect.[51] It is more likely that he purchased songbooks with these tune indications from the Amsterdam publisher Kannewet (see appendix II, i–l). Besides tune indications however, Van der Schelling definitely has text types in common with

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46   I checked ten editions in the University Library Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (dated 1679, 1681, 1683, 1694, 1698, 1713, 1726, 1727 (two copies), and 1760. Only the page numbers of the 1760 edition matched the ones mentioned by Van der Schelling. The title of the 1760 edition is: Lodensteyn J. van, *Uytspanningen, behelzende eenige stigtelyke liederen en andere gedigten. Verdeeld in vier deelen. Met een aanhangzel. Den veertiende druk merkelijk verbeterd, en op een zoet-vloeyende maat-zang gebragt ende met voyzen vermeerderd. Als mede tot gemak der zang-meesteren hier by gevoegt een onderregting, tot gebruyk der geener die de op-gemelde liederen, op de instrumente willen leeren speelen* (Amsterdam, Joannes Kannewet: 1760). Copy consulted: University Library Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, XN.06101.

47   *Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands* (https://www.kb.nl/en/organisation/research-expertise/for-libraries/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn) [accessed: 16 October 2014].

48   Appendix II: f–h. Schortinghuis, *Geestelike Gesangen* 27, 30: Psalm 77; 25: '10 Geboden'.

49   Appendix II: a. Schortinghuis, *Bevindelike Gesangen* 182: "Gyb eyn aalmoes eynen blinden".

50   Appendix II: i–l. Schortinghuis, *Bevindelike Gesangen* 84: "Schoon Bloemgewas [. . .]".

51   Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 37, 39–40, 50–51. On the use of psalms by pietists: Van Lieburg, "Experiential Protestantism" 124.

Lodenstein and Schortinghuis. His 'sighs' and his songs for conventicles were clearly inspired by Lodenstein and Schortinghuis.[52] Like van der Schelling, Lodenstein also wrote songs on birthdays, weddings and on military victories.[53] Van der Schelling's song about the walk to the church in Noorden parallels Lodenstein's preference for using personal, everyday events and experiences in religious poems[54] as well as a song by Schortinghuis, "Des Rustdags na de Kerk gaande" ("Going to church on Sabbath day").[55] His sung prayer-cum-acrostic for the young Johannes de Bie echoes children's songs by Lodenstein,[56] and even more strongly those by Schortinghuis, who also uses the child's name for an acrostic [Fig. 3.6].[57] Without suggesting that Schortinghuis was Van der Schelling's only source, it is striking that many of the idiomatic phrases from the language of Canaan used by Van der Schelling are found in Schortinghuis's songbooks too. Both authors, for example, refer to being 'worthy of hell', to the horror of atheism,[58] to the 'rumbling intestines of God',[59] to God as souvereign,[60]

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52   Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 115, 117; Lodenstein, *Uyt-Spanningen* 77, 106; Schortinghuis, *Geestelike Gesangen* 17–22, 23–46, 72, 76, 110, 123, 125, 131, 135; Schortinghuis, *Bevindelike Gesangen* 146, 149.

53   Lodenstein, *Uyt-Spanningen* 453–464, 550–551, 492.

54   Stronks – Van Strien, *Het hart naar boven* 203; Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 112–114.

55   Schortinghuis, *Bevindelike Gesangen* 141.

56   Lodenstein, *Uyt-Spanningen* 223–230; Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 127–128.

57   Schortinghuis, *Geestelike Gesangen* 120, 124.

58   Schortinghuis, *Geestelike Gesangen* 71: 'helwaardig' ('fit for hell' or 'worthy of hell'); 143: 'al mijn Atheistery' ('all my atheist behaviour'). Appendix I, nr. 4: 'Zoo een Helwigt! een Onvroomen! Ja een ys'lijk Wangedrogt!; Atheistisch!' ('Such a child from hell! Impious! Yes, a horrid monster! Atheist!'); nr. 8: 'Gij Regtvaardig, Wij helwaardig!' ('Thou art righteous, we are worthy of hell'); nr. 9: 'vervloekte Hellewigte' ('we' are cursed children of hell).

59   In song nr. 10 Van der Schelling writes that he deposits his wisdom and his ignorance before God's 'tenderly rumbling intestines': ''k Leg mijn Wijsheijd voor u Neder / En mijn Dwaalzugt, voor u Teeder / *Rommelende Ingewand*'. In "De gelovige verheerlykt Godt, en zugt om heylig te leven" ("The believer worships God, and longs to live a sacred life"; Schortinghuis, *Geestelike gesangen* 175) the lyrical subject says that the only reason why Jesus would care about a tiny ant like him, are the 'rumbling intestines': 'Dog ik weet, dat d'enkel reden / *Romm'lend' ingewanden* sijn, / Jesu! dat Gy siet op mijn […]'. Italics by me, NM.

60   Schortinghuis, *Bevindelike Gesangen* 7; appendix I, nr. 15.

to an often physical yearning for Jesus,[61] and to the slippery path full of obstacles.[62]

In his worldly songs, Van der Schelling does not use this language of Canaan as much. Instead, he adds extensive biblical references as marginalia. He probably used the concordance to the 1637 States Bible by the Dutch preacher Abraham Trommius (1633–1719) to find appropriate references, just like preachers did when preparing a sermon.[63] Placing biblical references in the margins of a song seems to belong to an older, sixteenth-century tradition, rather than the pietistic tradition.[64] The same strategy however is also used by Schortinghuis, who adds biblical references ('schriftuir-texten') especially for the unconverted in his *Geestelike Gesangen*, to lead them towards the bible as the source of their salvation.[65]

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61   Appendix I, nr. 2: 'Og 'k Wensch uw t'zalig deel! / Van Gods Nabijheijd in uw Ziel! / Dat uw den Koning kust! / En gij Veel in zijn Armen viel!' ('Ah, I wish you could have God's closeness in your soul, that you may kiss the King and fall into his arms!); nr. 4: 'Och! Dat hij mijn Jezus was!; Jezus zijt gij niet Bereijd?; Kom O Jezus! Kom tog inne! /Stoot de Deur op van mijn Hert!' (Ah! Would that he were my Jesus! Jesus are you not willing? O come, Jesus, come in, force open the door to my heart!); nr. 9: Christ is invited to 'come and live in our hearts'; nr. 17*:* the lyrical subject presents himself as the bride of Christ ('Die in Jezus 't Heyl verkooren / Wierden straks zijn Lieve Bruijd'); nr. 10: "Baad mij in u Zaalge Wonden", God washes the sinners in his blood; longing for Jesus full of love and desire; the faithful as the bride of Christ; Schortinghuis, *Geestelike Gesangen* 76: 'Cust my eenmaal, Grote Minnaar / Heylig met uw' liefde mont' ('Kiss me once, Great Lover, sacred with your loving mouth'). Being 'love-sick for Jesus' was a common pietistic concept (Van Lieburg, "Experiential Protestantism" 125).

62   Appendix I, nr. 17: 'En laat tog geen Hinderpaalen / mij meer stooren in het gaan / Naar u, daar ik niet kan dwaalen / Als ik Loop op 'sLevens Paan' ('Please let me find no obstacles when I walk towards you nor let me get lost on life's road'); Schortinghuis, *Geestelike Gesangen* 67: request to find the right way ("k Kan geen weg nog voetspoor vinden [...] Dat ik eenmaal regt beschouwe / 's Hemels paden); 72, request to be freed from all obstacles ('Belydenis en Sugtinge van een toestemmende, om van alle hinderpalen bevryt te worden); 113: request to be able to take the narrow path ('Jesu! Trek my, geef my voeten / Dat ik met uw' erfdeel gaan / mag, op 's levens smalle baan').

63   Van Eijnatten – Van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* 238.

64   Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 49, 116.

65   Schortinghuis, *Geestelike Gesangen* fol. *5v: 'Ook hebbe ik, by dese tweede soorte der gesangen, enige schriftuir-texten tot ontdekkinge en overtuiginge gevoegt. Siet daar uit dat uwe staat in 't Heilig woord van Godt is open gelegt. Laat dan dese texten UE. tot overredinge dienen, en ansporen tot een neerstig soeken, om van alle verkeerde gronden verlost te worden.' ('I also added a number of bible texts to the second type of songs, to
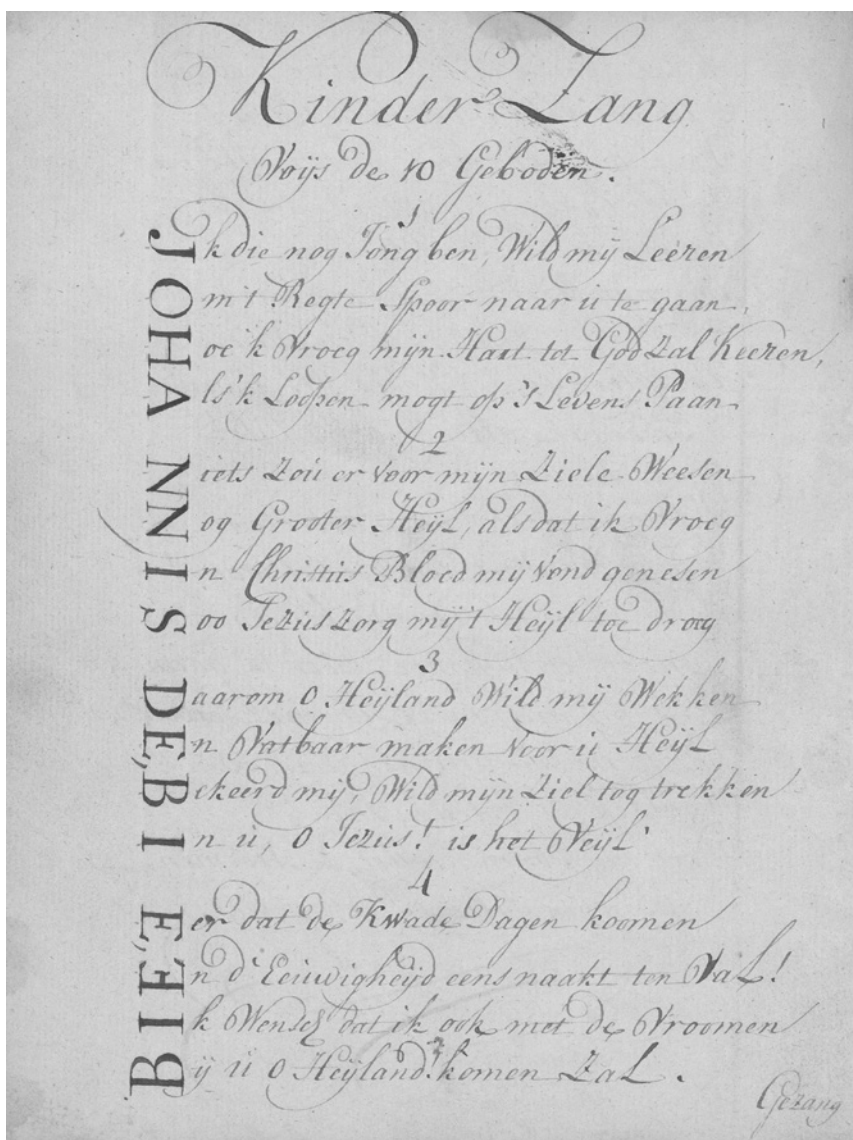
FIGURE 3.6 *A children's song ('Kinder Zang') for Johannes de Bie, with acrostic. Cornelis*
van der Schelling, Digt Memoriaal (*between 1762 and 1815*), *fol. 40v. Amsterdam,*
University Library Vrije Universiteit, XV.00126.
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM.

Using well-known melodies, conforming to the language of pietism and (explicitly and implicitly) referring to popular pietistic authors was one way in which Van der Schelling reached out to his audience. But for his message to be properly embraced, he needed to persuade his fellow villagers to identify with what was sung and to participate in the singing—pietism needed to be performed. Even though the actual use of Van der Schelling's songs is not documented, the lyrics themselves contain signs that the songs were (intended to be) sung together, 'indicators of performance', as Roger Chartier calls them.[66] In Van der Schelling's case, such indicators are the choice of a plural lyrical subject, exhortations to sing along, and the use of dialogues. Here, too, he is influenced by Lodenstein and Schortinghuis. The choice of a plural lyrical subject is an obvious indication that the song is meant to be sung by a group of people, often with an apostrophe to God, a married couple or the Stadtholder. The birthday song for Magteld for example starts out with a group of people addressing the jubilee: 'We commemorate your birthday' [Fig. 3.7]. The songs written for a religious gathering also use the plural lyrical subject (like Lodenstein and Schortinghuis). However, songs with a singular lyrical subject ('I'), such as the 'soul sighs', are not necessarily less effective in building a community identity. Schortinghuis for example mentions the technique of using an individual voice as a means to make the singer identify with the message.[67] Other indications for group singing are exhortations to sing along, which ties in with Van der Schelling's function as a precentor.[68] Similar exhortations can

reveal and to convince. Note from these texts that your condition is exposed in the Holy word of the Lord. May these texts serve to convince you, and stimulate an earnest inquiry, in order to be delivered from all false arguments').

66   Chartier R., "Text as Performance", in idem, *Publishing Drama in Early Modern Europe* (London: 1999) 10–12.

67   Schortinghuis, *Geestelike Gesangen* fol. *5r: 'Ik voere U E. hier selve sprekende in, om uwen zielen staat en gestalte, na dit eenvoudige voorschrift, so, voor den Alwetenden Godt, en nauwkeurigen Herten Kenner te belyden, als de selve in waarheyt is. Ach! denkt dog niet, dat gy in dese belydenissen geen aandeel hebt, en dat de selve in den mont van andere, die gy meynt erger dan gy selve te syn, souden moeten gelegt worden' ('I introduce you in your own voice, so that you may acknowledge your own soul and being as they really are, in front of the omniscient God, and scrutinous knower of hearts. Ah! Do not believe that you have no part in these acknowledgements, and that they should be put in the mouth of someone else, whom you believe to be worse than you').

68   "Bruijlofts Gezang" (appendix I, nr. 3): 'Zingens Stoffe' ('singing matter'); 'stof van kweelen' ('singing matter'); 't is wis dan Zingens tijd' ('it sure is singing time'); 'Kom Juich met mij Speelnooten en Bruijlofts Gasten al!' ('Come and cheer with me, friends and wedding guests); 'Juijcht dan en zingd verblijd' ('So cheer and sing happily'); 'hef vrij op den Toon' ('let's hear it'). "Huwelijks Wensch" (appendix I, nr. 2): 'Dat verdiend al aan deeze Zij / veel
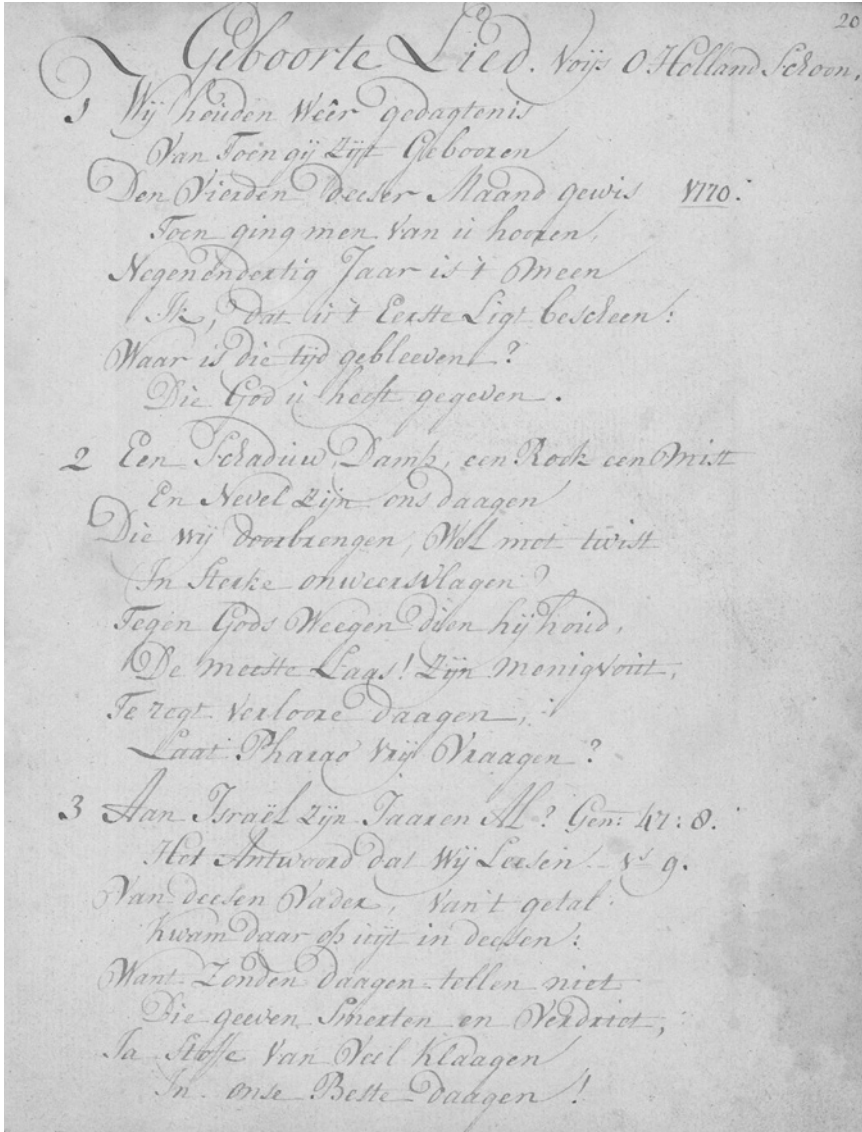
FIGURE 3.7   *Birthday song ('Geboorte Lied') for his cousin Magteld van der Schelling* (1770).
Cornelis van der Schelling, Digt Memoriaal (*between 1762 and 1815*), *fol. 20r.*
Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Universiteit, XV.00126.
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM.

be found in Schortinghuis.[69] Van der Schelling addresses the wedding guests, his fellow believers or even the entire nation in this way. In the wedding song for Klaas Oostenrijk (appendix 1, nr. 3), the tune indication itself includes a call for singing: 'whoever likes the art of singing, do raise your voice to "Hoe Minlijk is het Jaagen"'.[70] In the same song, Van der Schelling reflects on the act of singing, which also points to the performance itself. He writes that he has noticed that 'lower notes' revive the singers when the singing takes a long time,[71] and he mentions that he hears the elderly singers join in (which should be read as an invitation for them to do so) [Fig. 3.8].[72] Finally, dialogue songs were favourite in pietistic conventicles because they enabled people to participate actively by enacting different viewpoints.[73] Lodenstein and Schortinghuis used dialogues, too.[74] Van der Schelling's dialogue song on the birth of the son

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Stoffe voor een Ziel! / om op te zingen vrij en blij' ('This is a reason for a soul to sing freely and happily') and 'Als Jezus maar zijn Rijk Vermeer! / Door Zijnes Geestes Dwang! / 't Gaf stof te Zingen tot zijn Eer! / ons gansche Leeven Lang.' ('If only Jesus's empire would grow by the force of his spirit, that would be a reason to sing in his honour for all our lives'; "Nederlands Blijdschap" (appendix 1, nr. 20): 'Houd u Vreugden bij de maat / En Heft op met Soeten Toon, / Ook veel Liederen Zeer Schoon, / Tot Eer van dit Zoo Jonge Paar, / Weest Vrolijk met Elkaar!' ('Keep good measure in your joy, and start singing in a sweet tone, many lovely songs, in honour of this young couple, be happy together!'); 'Iuijch Vrij! in't Nederlandse Dal, / Met Blijde Toonen al' ('Cheer freely in this Dutch domain, with happy notes'); ''t Zo Speeld met Soeten Toon. / Ook op Snarenspel Zeer Schoon, / Op den Bas en den Fluijt, / Blaasd, en Zingd, met Soet geluijd' ('So play with a sweet tone, on beautiful strings, on bass and flute, blow and sing with a sweet sound'); "Lof en Dankzang" (appendix 1, nr. 22): 'Wild van Blijdschap Kwinkelieren' ('Do sing for joy'); 'Heft nu Gode Psalmen aan' ('Now start singing psalms'); 'Zingd met mij! en Wees Verblijd!' ('Sing with me and rejoice!'); 'Laat al 't Volk gods goedheijd Zingen' ('Let all people sing of God's goodness').

69   Schortinghuis, *Geestelike Gesangen* 172–174, 180–181, 184.

70   'Die in de Zangkonst schept behagen, Heft op den Toon Hoe Minlijk is het Jaagen' ('He whoever likes the art of singing, should start singing to the tune of "How pleasant is it to hunt"').

71   'Maar duurd de zingens tijd wat Lang / Dan heb ik wel vernomen / Dat ook de Laager Toonen / Ververschen Zingens Lust [. . .]' ('But if the singing takes too long, I have heard, that the lower notes refresh the appetite for singing').

72   'Me dunkt, ik Hoor de gene / Die Vroeger zijn gepaard / Haar Stem hier mee toe Leene / Of Schoon ook al Bejaard' ('Me thinks I hear the voice of those who were married long ago join in, even though they are old').

73   Van Lieburg – Van Eijnatten, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* 225; Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 123.

74   Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* 110; Buijnsters, *Bloemlezing* 11–12; Lodenstein, *Uyt-Spanningen* 282, 299, 312, 317, 338; Schortinghuis included various dialogues in *Het innig*
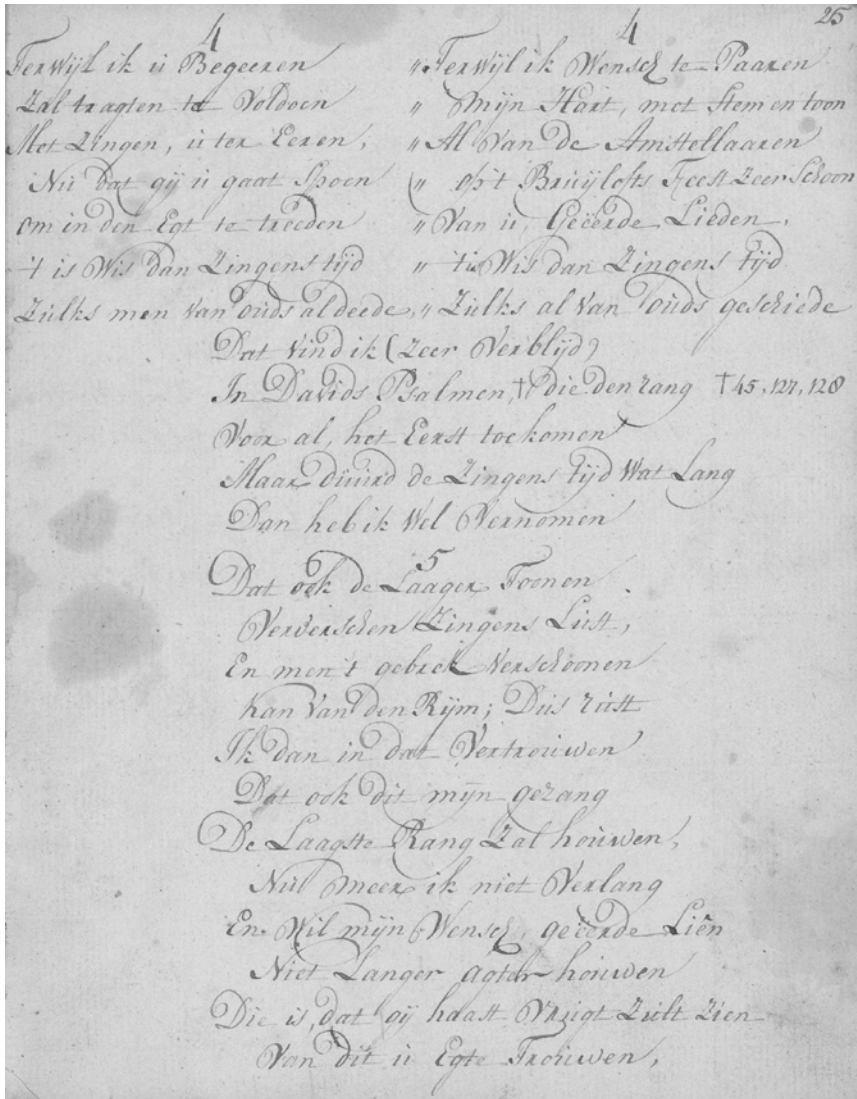
FIGURE 3.8 *Stanzas with comments on the act of singing in the wedding song ('Bruijlofts*
Gezang') for Klaas Oostenrijk and Anna van der Mark, with alterations also used for
Andries Cloeting and Maria Boele (1772). Cornelis van der Schelling, *Digt Memoriaal*
(between 1762 and 1815), fol. 25r. Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Universiteit,
XV.00126.

of William V (discussing the history of the House of Orange) is reminiscent of the first dialogue in Schortinghuis' book *Het innig christendom*, in which 'Kleyn gelove' ('Little Faith') asks 'Geoefende' ('Experienced') about the history of the Reformation.[75] Van der Schelling may have intended this song to be used in class, with pupils taking turns in delivering the lyrics [Fig. 3.9]. The dates in the margins suggest that this song may have been used to teach his pupils a history lesson as well as the right patriotic attitude. A particular twist in Van der Schelling's song is the fact that the last stanzas are supposed to be sung by the entire group. In the margin of the penultimate stanza, Van der Schelling noted 'all' (''t G.', which is short for ''t Gemeen', the collective or the community). He wanted everyone to join in to praise God and the House of Orange [Fig. 3.10].

Conclusion

We have seen how a village schoolmaster in the second half of the eighteenth century dedicated himself to the pietist cause on a local level by writing songs for his family, his religious circle, his pupils and his fellow Orangists. His handwritten collection demonstrates that texts do not have to be printed in order to reach an audience. Edifying his next of kin was his main concern. Being a deacon, schoolmaster and precentor, Van der Schelling was cut out for the task of instructing his fellow villagers. He did so by admonishing them in poems and by providing them with songs, in which he followed the example of two pietist icons, Jodocus van Lodenstein and Wilhelmus Schortinghuis. In these songs, he displayed his own beliefs. He shaped the religious identity of those who were not yet converted according to pietistic standards, to wit his distant relatives, fellow villagers and school children by pairing religious views to views on the House of Orange and the well-being of the Dutch Republic. He used bible references, dialogue songs and worldly tunes to make it easier for them to engage in the message he wanted to convey, which was that God is watching over the Netherlands and that William V belonged to a lineage of leaders sent by God, starting with William of Orange. Van der Schelling confirmed the identity of those who belonged to the pietistic inner circle, such as the wedding couple Jacobus Kuijlenburg and Marritje Verweij, and the people

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christendom (he himself following the example of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*); see Graafland C., "De achttiende-eeuwse Nederlandse gereformeerden en Bunyan", in Schutte G.J. – Alblas J.B.H. – Deursen A.Th. van – Graafland C. – Brienen T., *Bunyan in Nederland* (Houten: 1989) 53–72.

75 Schortinghuis, *Het innig christendom* 5: 'Eerste t'Zamenspraak' ('First Dialogue').
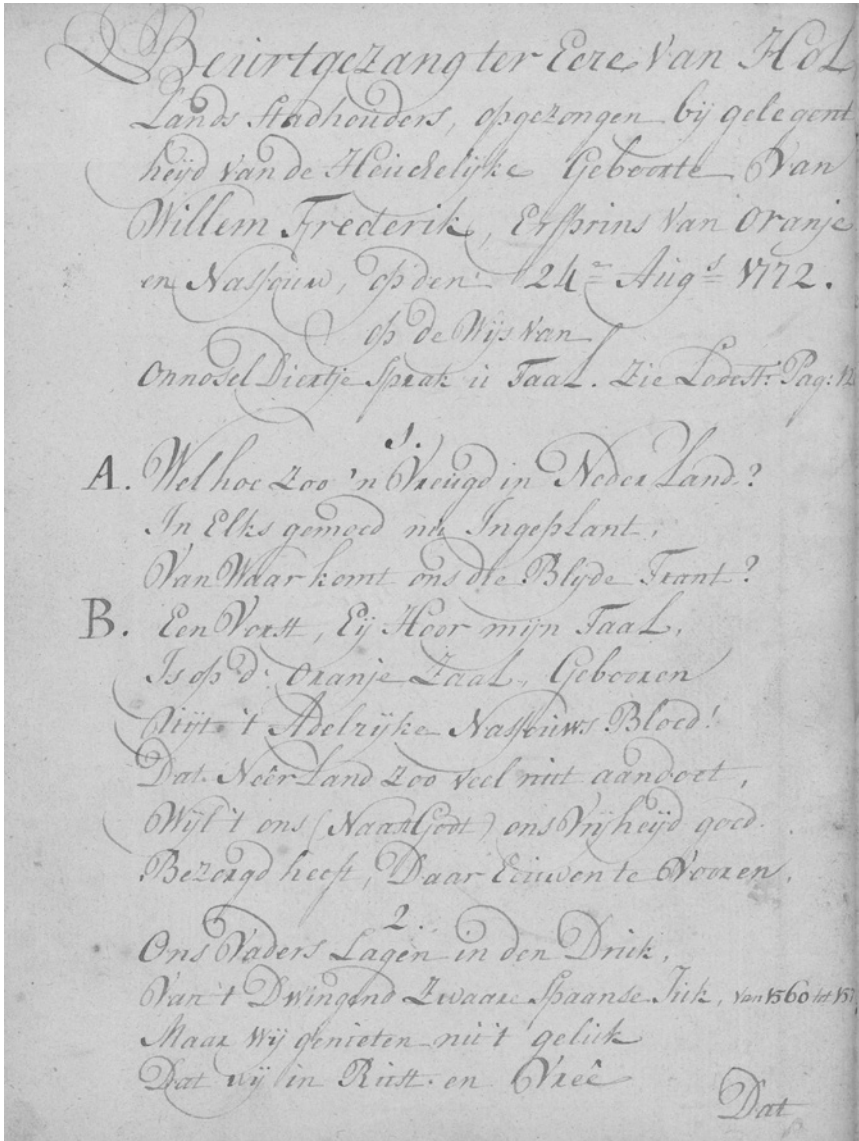
FIGURE 3.9   *A dialogue song ('Beurtgezang') on the birth of Willem Frederik, the son of William*
            V (1772). Cornelis van der Schelling, Digt Memoriaal (*between 1762 and 1815*),
            fol. 54v. Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Universiteit, XV.00126.
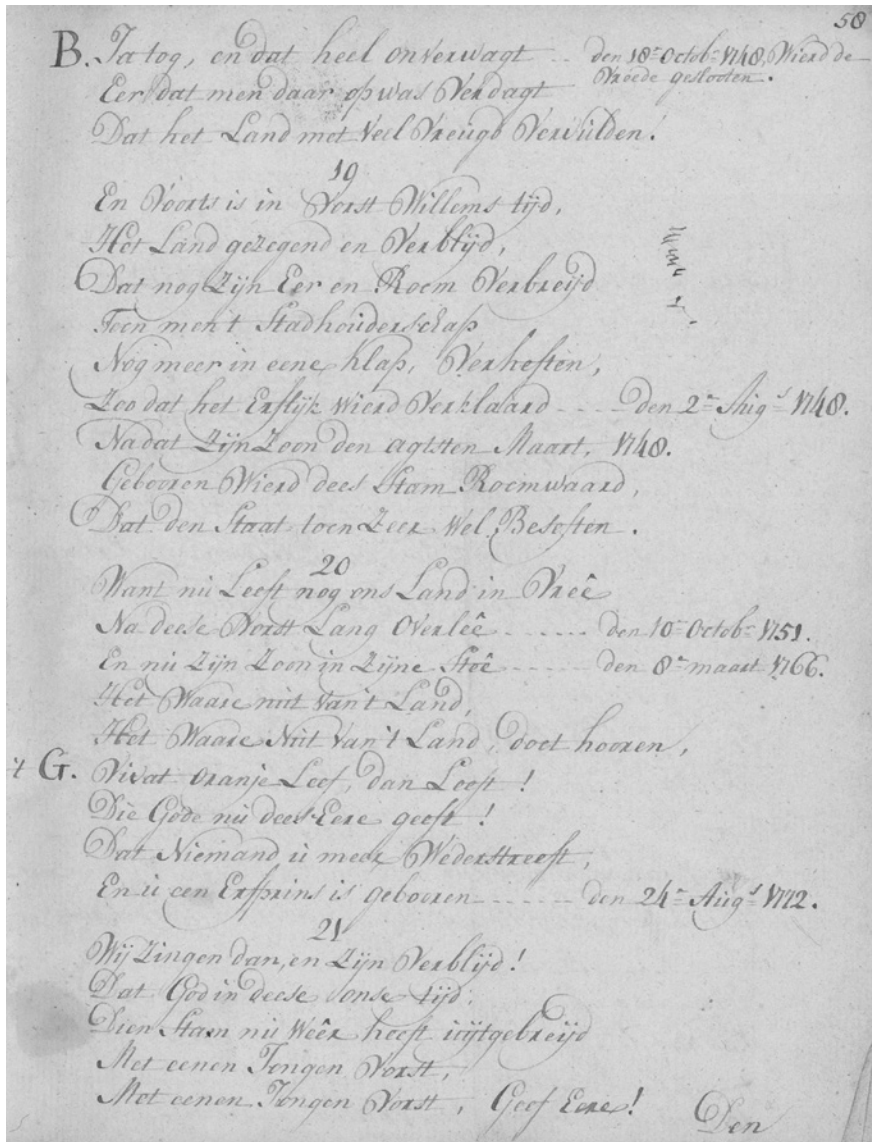
FIGURE 3.10 *Final stanza of the dialogue song ('Beurtgezang') on the birth of Willem Frederik, to be sung by all. Cornelis van der Schelling,* Digt Memoriaal (*between 1762 and 1815*), *fol. 58v. Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Universiteit, XV.00126.*
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM.

who attended conventicles. His use of the language of Canaan and the echoes of Lodenstein and Schortinghuis imply that these songs were intended for the knowledgeable pietistic inner circle, confirming their identity through a shared discourse. Many songs carry signs revealing his efforts to get a group or an individual to sing, such as the first person singular and plural, exhortations to sing along, reflections on the act of singing in the lyrics themselves and the use of dialogue. Van der Schelling aimed to convert his community through the collective experience of singing in a shared idiom on well-known tunes.

Further research should focus on a comparison to similar manuscripts composed by schoolmasters, such as Adriaen de Vin in Zealand and Feiko Feikens in Friesland. That would clarify to what extent Van der Schelling's manuscript is one of a kind. The investigations should not be limited to manuscript sources, however. A fuller reconstruction of how Van der Schelling's work was inspired by printed sources, especially by those provided by the Amsterdam publisher Kannewet, would shed further light on the interaction between manuscript and print, and on networks of publishers, authors and readers. Finally, the performative aspects of Van der Schelling's texts should be contextualized by comparing them to similar notions in other song texts and to pietist practices as described in accounts of conventicles and other gatherings where people would sing. After all, songs do not live on paper, but through the breath of singers.

Appendix 1—Songs in the Manuscript Miscellany of Cornelis van der Schelling

Twenty-one songs have a tune indication; one song (nr. 20) has none, but was included, because the headings of the final stanzas may suggest that the text is a song ('tegenzang' and 'toezang'). The songs are represented in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

1. Fol. 20r–20v: 'Geboorte Lied. Voijs O Holland schoon'
   [birthday song for Magteld van der Schelling, 1770]
2. Fol. 21r–23v: 'Huwelijks Wensch opgezongen op het Christelijk Huwelijk van de Vroome Jonge Lieden Jacobus Kuijlenburg En Marritje Verweij, Voltrokken te Zevenhoven op den Eersten Decemb*er* 1771. Stem, Schoon Bloem Gewas'
   [wedding song for Jacobus Kuijlenburg and Marritje Verweij, 1771]
3. Fol. 24r–27v: 'Bruijlofts Gezang, gemaakt bij gelegendheijd mijn Neef Klaas Oostenrijk zig te Koudekerk in den Egt stond te begeven met Anna Van der Mark op den 26en April 1772. En alsoo mij In die Zelve tijd bij Missive Wierd bekend gemaakt, het Huwelijk

van de Heer Andries Cloeting, met Mejuff. Maria Boele te Amsterdam, heb ik het zelve met een Weijnig Verandering, ook op de Laastgem*elden* toepasselijk gemaakt. Die in de Zangkonst schept behagen, Heft op den Toon Hoe Minlijk is het Jaagen'

> [wedding song for Klaas Oostenrijk and Anna van der Mark, with alterations also used for Andries Cloeting and Maria Boele, 1772]

4. Fol. 29v–34r: 'Ziels Zugt, om deel aan den Algenoegzamen en Dierbaarsten Heere Jezus in Wien alleenig alles te vinden is, Wat een (in zig zelve) Gansch ontbloote Ziele, voor tijd en Eeuwigheijd kan gelukkig maaken; en zonder wien geen Waar Wesentlijk Heijl te vinden is. O Schat! O alles! O Beminden! Laat dog mijn Dwase ziel u vinden. Op de Wijs Hoe mijn verre zigt vergeeten Lodest*ein* Pag*ina* 343.

> [a religious song, or 'sigh', 1768]

5. Fol. 34v–37v: 'Ziels zugt om het doorbrekend Genadewerk: Bevrijding van Droggronden: Item om Geestelijke Wassching, En Uijtredding van de Banden der Geestelijke Vijanden. Op de Wijs van O Ziel! door d'onrust van Gods zoon, Zie Lodestein Pag*ina* 172.'

> [a religious song, or 'sigh', no date]

6. Fol. 38r–40r: 'Aandagt op het Voorzichtig Wandelen in het Natuurlijke, op de Gladde, en beslijkte Weg van Zevenhoven, Na de Kerk te Noorden, op Rustdag Den 20e October 1771 Op de Wijs Geeft een Aalmoes voor den Blinde.'

> [a song on a walk on a muddy road to attend a church service in the nearby village of Noorden, with a spiritual explanation, 1771]

7. Fol. 40v: 'Kinder Zang Voijs de 10 Geboden.'

> [children's song for Johannes de Bie, with acrostic, no date]

8. Fol. 41r–43v: 'Gezang, opgesteld om te Zingen als men tot het onderzoek van Goddelijke Waarheden te samen komt. Voijs Geeft een Aalmoes.'

> [song for the start of a religious meeting, 1774]

9. Fol. 43v–46v: 'Gezang om te Zingen op het scheijden van een Particuliere Samenkomst als Voore. op de Wijs van Ps.: 77.'

> [song for the ending of a religious meeting, 1774]

10. Fol. 47r–48v: 'Op de kragdadige Openbaring van de onbegrijpelijke Liefde, Goedertierenheijd, en Gewilligheijd van de Heere Jezus aan 't Gemoed, om Zondaren Zalig te maaken (onder de Prediking van Joh: 10:16 en Vervolgens) ontfangt de Ziel Eenige Vrijmoedigheijd des Geloofs, om 't op de Heere Jesus (zoo als hij zig aan 't Gemoed openbaarde) te Waagen, en hem door de Kragt zijner Liefde drang (volgens 2 Cor: 5:14) tot zijn Zaligmaker aan te neemen. Voijs als voore.'

> [religious song on the revelation of God's love, encouraging the soul to rely on God, 1774]

11. [inserted sheet, no page number] 'Zugt om de Nabijheid van de Heere Jezus, door 's Geestes Bewerking, te genieten. Wijs Geeft een Aalmoes etc.'

> [another 'sigh', a prayer for the vicinity of God, 1777]

12. [inserted sheet, no page number] 'Zugt om Verzoeninge mijner Zonden om de Verdienste van de Heere Jezus. Wijs als Vooren.'

[another 'sigh', a prayer for reconciliation, 1777]

13. [inserted sheet, no page number] 'Korte Zugt om de Heere Jezus tot Borge, in zijn 3 Ampten te genieten. Wys als vooren.'

[another 'sigh' for Jesus Christ, 1778]

14. [inserted sheet, no page number] 'Zugt om Ligt en Geloofskragt om Zig geheel en al (van alles afgedreven) op Christus als de Eenige Goël en Borge te verlaaten. Wys als vooren.'

[another 'sigh', for illumination and strong faith, 1778]

15. [inserted sheet, no page number] 'Zielzugt, onder Ootmoedige Erkentenis van Gods Souveraijnteijt, Op 't Woord aan, om Vrije Genade in Christus. Stem Psalm 128 en 130.'

[another 'soul sigh', on the sovereignty of God, 1779]

16. [inserted sheet, no page number] 'Ziel Zugt (onder Erkentenisse van zijn Schuld in Adam, en de Naare gevolgen van dien) om Herstellinge door het Waar Geloof in Christus. Wijs Ps: 77.'

[another 'soul sigh', on the consequences of Adam's sin, 1780]

17. [inserted sheet, no page number] 'Kleijn Hopende op Gods vrije Genade in Christus, bij 't zien van 't Heijl door de Heere Jezus Verworven en aangebooden. Stem, Hoe mijn Verre Zigt Vergeeten'

[a prayer for God's grace, spoken by someone with little faith]

18. [inserted sheet, no page number] 'Ik zal van Goedertierendheijd ende Regt zingen: U zal ik Psalm Zingen O Heere. Ps. 101:1. Wijs: Geeft Een Aalmoes etc.'

[a religious song in praise of God's benevolence and justice, 9 August 1791]

19. Fol. 50r–51r: 'Op de Verheffing van [+zijn] Doorl: Hoogheijd / den Heere Prince van Oranje & Nassouw / Willem de Vijfde tot Stadhouder Admiraal, / en Capitein Generaal der Vereenigde Neder- / Landen, geinstalleerd in 't 18ᵉ Jaar zijns ou- / Derdom, op zijn Doorl: Hoogheijds Verjaardag / Den 8ᵉ Maart 1766. op de Wijs / Sa Trompen & Trompetten.'

[8 March 1766, on the installation of William v as Stadholder]

20. Fol. 51v–54r: 'Nederlands Blijdschap over het Vorstelijke Huwelijk van Zijne Doorluchtige Hoogheijd Willem de Vijfde, Prince van Oranje & Nassouw, Stadhouder van Nederland. Met haare Koninklijke Hoogheijd, Mevrouwe de Princesse Frederika Sophia Wilhelmina van Pruijssen, Voltrokken den 4ᵉ October 1767.'[76]

[a song on the wedding of William v and Wilhelmina of Prussia]

21. Fol. 54v–58r: 'Beurtgezang ter Eere van Hol-Lands Stadhouders, opgezongen bij gelegent-Heijd van de Heuchelijke Geboorte van Willem Frederik, Erfprins van Oranje

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76   This song has no tune indication, but through a comparison of the structure of the stanzas I found that it might be sung to the tune of 'De morin van Amerika', or 'Mon cher père le roi', as used (for example) in *De nieuwe vermaakelyke snuyf-doos* (1750) 8 and 11. See note 40.

en Nassouw, op den 24ˢᵗᵉⁿ Aug*ustu*s 1772. op de Wijs van Onnosel Diertje sprak u Taal. Zie Lodest: Pag: 120.'

> [a song on the birth of Willem Frederik, the son of William V, in 1772; this is a dialogue between A and B, discussing national history from the Dutch Revolt until 1772]

22. [inserted sheet, no page number]: 'Lof en Dankzang der getrouwe Nederlanders aan den Heere Voor Gods Bisondere Hulpe in het Verdeedigen Van de Steeden Maastrigt, de Klunderd, en Willemstad, en 't Herwinnen van Breda en Geertruidenberg. Opgezongen op de wijs van 't Gezang van Genade en Heerlijkheid in Lodestein Pag*ina* 184.'

> [a song on military victories against the Patriots and the French, 1793]

Appendix 11 — Tune Indications Used by Van der Schelling

This list presents the tune indications mentioned by Van der Schelling in order of popularity of the source (that means that I have counted all songs from Lodenstein as indicative of the popularity of his *Uyt-Spanningen*). After the tune indication as used by Van der Schelling I give a reference to the songs in which he used this tune (indicated by numbers, in accordance with the previous list). I then give information on the original source of the tune, as found in the Dutch Song Database.[77]

Aalmoes
a. 'Geeft een Aalmoes voor den Blinde'—song nr. 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 18
> This is the first line of a song called "A blind man's love affair" ("Blindeman's Vryagie"). It was published in *De Mey-blom, Of de Zomer-Spruyt* (1721–1734); *De kweelende godin, of de zingende leyster* (1750); *De Oostindische Theeboom* (1767). Both *De kweelende godin* and *De Oostindische Theeboom* were published by J. Kannewet in Amsterdam, who also published the fourteenth edition of Lodenstein's *Uyt-Spanningen* of 1760 that may have been used by Van der Schelling.

Lodenstein[78]
b. 'Hoe mijn verre zigt vergeeten'—song nr. 4 and 17
> 'Hoe! mijn *Verre-sigt* vergeten?' is the first line of a song called "'t Vergroot-glas", in 'Eenige invallen voorgecomen op eene reyse van Sluys in Vlaanderen, na Holland en wederom in 't jaar 1651', Lodenstein, *Uyt-Spanningen* 531.

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77   www.liederenbank.nl [accessed: 16 October 2014].
78   The page numbers refer to Lodenstein, Jodocus van, *Uyt-Spanningen Behelsende eenige stigtelyke liederen en andere gedigten*, edited by L. Strengholt (Utrecht: 2005).

c. 'O Ziel! Door d'onrust van Gods zoon'—song nr. 5

> This is the first line of a song called 'Begeerlijckheden des Vleesch door den Geest t'onder-gebracht. Twee-spraack tusschen Bernhardus ende Robertus', Lodenstein, *Uyt-Spanningen* 282.

d. 'Onnosel Diertje sprak u Taal'—song nr. 21

> 'On-nosel diertje! sprack u taal' is the first line of a song called "Genoegen in het Cleyne", Lodenstein, *Uyt-Spanningen* 210.

e. ''t Gezang van Genade en Heerlijkheid'—song nr. 22

> "Genade en heerlijkheyd, ofte twee-spraak tusschen A. en B. daar over" is a dialogue song, Lodenstein, *Uyt-Spanningen* 299.

Psalms

f. Psalm 77—song nr. 9, 10 and 16

> The standard name of this melody in the Dutch Song Database is "Psalm 077 Datheen".

g. Psalm 128 and 130—song nr. 15

> This song can be sung to the tune of psalm 128 (standard name: "Psalm 128 Datheen") as well as 130 (standard name: "Psalm 130 Datheen").

Other

h. 'de 10 Geboden'—song nr. 7

> This is the tune of the "Ten Commandments" (standard name: "Tien geboden").

i. 'Sa Trompen en Trompetten'—song nr. 19

> 'Sa trompen en trompetten Blaas op een gouden toon' is the first line of the wedding song for Cornelis Tromp and Margaretha van Raephorst (1667, first published in 1670). A source from 1767 using this tune indication is a songbook (*De Oostindische thee-boom*), printed by J. Kannewet in Amsterdam, who also published the fourteenth edition of Lodenstein's *Uyt-Spanningen* of 1760 that may have been used by Van der Schelling.

j. 'O Holland schoon'—song nr. 1

> 'O Holland schoon gij leeft in vree' is the first line of a song in praise of the county of Holland, that was first published in 1662. A source from 1767 using this tune indication is a songbook (*De Oostindische thee-boom*), printed by J. Kannewet in Amsterdam, who also published the fourteenth edition of Lodenstein's *Uyt-Spanningen* of 1760 that may have been used by Van der Schelling.

k. 'Schoon Bloem Gewas'—song nr. 2

> "Schoon bloem-gewas, en edel kruyt" is a song from the *Trou-ring* ('Wedding Ring') (1637) by the popular seventeenth-century author Jacob Cats. This was a very influential book on marriage, using poems and emblems to convey moral messages. The tune indication was used in other songbooks, too. One of the

songbooks mentioned in the Dutch Song Database (*De kweelende godin* [...])
was published in 1750 by J. Kannewet in Amsterdam, who also published the
fourteenth edition of Lodenstein's *Uyt-Spanningen* of 1760 that may have been
used by Van der Schelling.

l. 'Hoe Minlijk is het Jaagen'—song nr. 3

The full tune indication is: 'Whoever likes the art of singing, do raise your voice
to How lovely is it to hunt' ('Die in de Zangkonst schept behagen, Heft op den
Toon Hoe Minlijk is het Jaagen'). The Dutch Song Database offers only one song
using the same tune indication 'Hoe minnelijk is het jagen', which is "A pleasant
summer song" ("Een aengenaem zomer-lied"), published in 1751. This seems to
be a variant of the standard tune indication 'Hoe vriendelijk is het jagen' ('How
friendly is hunting'), used in songs between 1733 and 1762. The 1762 source is
a songbook (*'t Groot Hoorns, Enkhuyzer, Alkmaarder, Edammer en Purmerender
Liede-Boek*) published by J. Kannewet in Amsterdam, who also published the
fourteenth edition of Lodenstein's *Uyt-Spanningen* of 1760 that may have been
used by Van der Schelling.

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Schortinghuis, Wilhelmus, *Het innige christendom tot overtuiginge van onbegenadigde, bestieringe en opwekkinge van begenadigde zielen, in desselfs allerinnigste en wesent-likste deelen gestaltelik en bevindelik voorgestelt in t'zamenspraken* (Groningen, Jurgen Spandaw: 1740).

———, *Bevindelike gesangen vertonende een uitverkoren sondaar I. In syne Natuirstaat. II. An sig selfs Ontdekt, en III. Geheyligt* (Groningen, Jurjen Spandaw: 1754).

———, *Geestelike Gesangen tot Ontdekkinge, Overtuiginge, Bestieringe, en Opwekkinge van Allerley Soorten van Menschen, So Onbekeerde, als ook Bekeerde, Als mede Enige Beknopte Gesangen over de voornaamste Goddelyke Waarheden.* […] (Groningen, Widow of Jurjen Spandaw: 1772; originally printed in 1726).

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Guilielmus Bolognino's *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker*: The Collected Songs of a Counter-Reformation Champion

Hubert Meeus and Tine de Koninck

In 1645 the Widow and Heirs of Jan Cnobbaert printed in Antwerp a religious songbook by Guilielmus Bolognino under the title *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* ('The sacred lark') [Fig. 4.1]. With a bird's name in its title, Bolognino's songbook stood in a popular tradition. From the 1630s onwards it is striking how many birds appear in titles of Catholic sacred songbooks in the Low Countries: *Den gheestelijcken Nachtegael* ('The sacred nightingale') (Antwerp: 1634), *Hemelsch nachtegaelken* ('Heavenly little nightingale') (Antwerp: 1639), *De gheestelijcke tortelduyve* ('The sacred turtledove') (Antwerp: 1648), *Den singhende Swaen* ('The singing Swan') (Antwerp: 1655), *Den lieffelycken paradysvogel* ('The lovely bird of paradise') (Brussels: 1670), *Den seraphynschen nachtegael* ('The seraphic nightingale') (Ghent: 1684), and *Het eensaem tortelduyfken* ('The lonely little turtledove') (Antwerp: 1694).[1] This list might create the impression that *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* was just one more in the series of Counter-Reformational songbooks. However, it has some striking features which make it stand out, as will be demonstrated in this article.

The title of the songbook refers to the idea that, just like a lark, the reader can ascend to heaven by praying and singing. Through the ages, the lark, known for its beautiful singing, has often been used in poetry and songs, in folk traditions and in faith, as a metaphor for the poet who frees himself from the earth and flies to heaven. The lark was also seen as a pious bird that sings for God.[2] Besides the songbook of Bolognino, *La Pieuse Alouette avec son Tirelire*[3] had

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1   Porteman K. – Huybens G., "Het Zuidnederlands geestelijk lied in de 17ᵉ eeuw. Een vergeten bladzijde uit de Nederlandse literatuur- en muziekgeschiedenis", *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 32–33 (1978–1979) 121–142; Huybens G., *Thesaurus canticorum Flandrensium: het gedrukte Nederlandse liedboek in Vlaanderen (1508–1800)* (Leuven: 2004).

2   Lemaire T., *De leeuwerik. Cultuurgeschiedenis van een lyrische vogel* (Amsterdam: 2004) 31.

3   Cauchie Antoine de la, *La pieuse alouette avec son tirelire* (Valencienne, Jean Vervliet: 1619–1621).
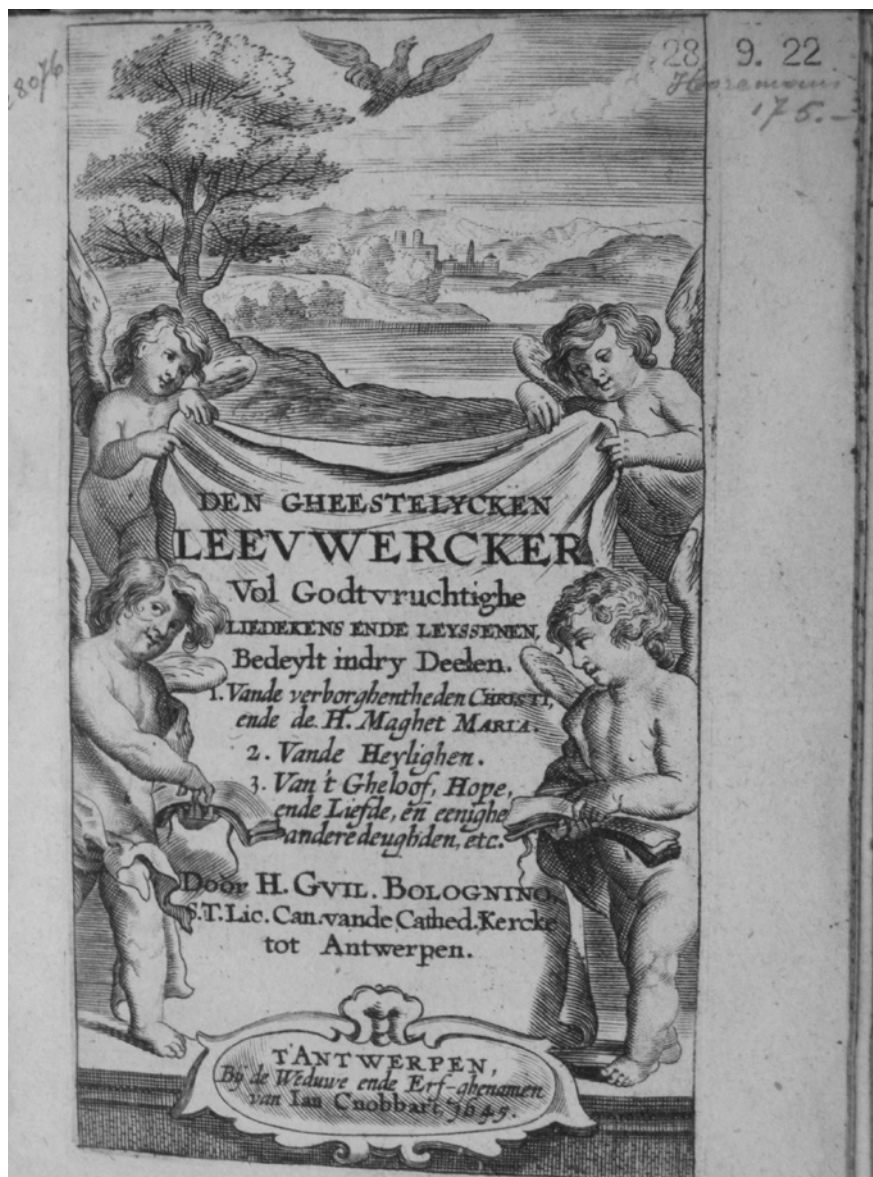
FIGURE 4.1 *Guilielmus Bolognino*, Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker (*Antwerp, Jan Cnobbaert:*
            1645) *title page. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, shelfmark C53223.*
            IMAGE © ERFGOEDBIBLIOTHEEK HENDRIK CONSCIENCE ANTWERP.

already been published in 1619–1621 and in 1667 the *Evangelische Leeuwerck*[4] ('Evangelical Lark') appeared, both also spiritual songbooks with the divine bird in their titles.

On the other hand, with its 544 pages and with no less than 265 songs, of which 214 have a monophonic music notation, *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* fits in with other voluminous Catholic collections, most of them with similar notation, such as Salomon Theodotus, *Het Paradijs der gheestelycke en kerkelijke lofsangen op de principaelste feestdaghen des geheelen jaers gheplant* ('Paradise of sacred and ecclesiastical hymns to the main religious feasts of the entire year') ('s-Hertogenbosch: 1621) containing 271 songs; two books by Joannes Stalpart van der Wiele, the *Extractvm Katholicvm tegen Alle Gebreken van Verwarde harsenen* ('*Extractvm Katholicvm* against all defects of confused brains') (Leuven: 1631) with 198 songs, and *Gulde-Iaers Feest-Daghen* ('Golden year's holidays') (Antwerp: 1634) with 541 songs and 80 madrigals; Jacob Rosant's *De Evangelische Triumph-Wagen* ('The evangelical triumphal carriage') (Antwerp: 1654) with 271 songs (but without music notation), and Guilielmus de Swaen's *Den Singende Swaen dat is den lof-Sang der Heyligen* (The singing swan that is the hymn to the saints) (Antwerp: 1664²) with 263 songs.[5] The songbooks by Stalpart van der Wiele (1634), De Swaen, Rosant and Theodotus are explicitly intended to cover the entire ecclesiastical year, offering songs on virtually all religious holidays and on all saints on the calendar. Consequently these collections were arranged to serve this aim.[6]

Guilielmus Bolognino personalized his songbook by presenting his name and function on the title page, introducing himself as 'S.T. Lic. Can. vande Cathed. Kercke tot Antwerpen' (Licentiate in theology, canon at the cathedral of Antwerp). In 1642, three years before the appearance of this songbook, Bolognino had been promoted to Canon of the Antwerp Cathedral. Whether the publishing of *Den Gheestelycken Leeuwercker* had anything to do with his appointment as Canon is not clear. The manuscript must have been ready shortly after his appointment, since already on August 4 1643 the widow of Jan Cnobbaert obtained a privilege granting her the exclusive right to print

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4 Placker Christianus de, *Evangelische Leeuwerck, ofte historie-liedekens, op de evangelien der sondagen. Evangelien van elcken dagh in de vasten. Passie ons heeren, naer de vier evangelisten. Evangelische levens der heiligen; ende evangelische deughden* (Antwerp, Herman Aeltsz: 1667).

5 The first edition of *Den Singende Swaen* is dated 1655 and contains 106 songs (www.liederenbank.nl, accessed: 10 November 2014).

6 Huybens, *Thesaurus canticorum Flandrensium*. Mertens Th. – Grijp L.P., in Cooman I. de – Meeus H. – Wilde M. de (eds.), *Tot vermaeck van alle Sang-lievende Lieden. Het zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse lied in handschrift en druk* (Antwerp: 2004) 8–13.

the songbook for nine years.[7] So it took two years before the songbook came out on the market. Probably she had requested the privilege in her own name since, after the death of her husband in 1637, she continued the business until 1643; from then on she ran the printing shop, together with the heirs who also appear in the imprint of *Den Gheestelycken Leeuwercker*.[8] Because the request of a privilege demanded a financial effort, publishing the songbook must have required a large investment; it is also possible that the Cnobbaert family expected it to become a great success and wanted to be sure of the mono-poly. The choice to put out the printing to Cnobbaert is understandable. The Cnobbaert family was experienced in this kind of work: in 1631 Jan Cnobbaert had printed Salomon Theodotus's *Paradijs der gheestelycke en kerkelijke lofsan-gen* and in 1634 Stalpart van der Wiele's *Gulde-jaers feestdaghen*.

As the law required, Bolognino also acquired church approbation, signed by his then-colleague Peter Coens, but without a date: 'P. Coens S.T.L. Can. & Lib. Cens. Antverpiae'.[9] The wording of this approbation is unusual. Instead of an approval, it looks more like an advertising text or a recommendation of the work of a colleague:

> This *gheestelycken leeuwercker*, being apt to pull upwards, little by little, the hearts from the earth to pious and heavenly desires while singing, will be published profitably to devotional and edifying amusement.[10]

This approbation contains none of the traditional phrases such as: 'Hic liber nihil habet Catholicae fidei aut bonis moribus contrarium'[11] or 'niet in heb-bende contrarie aen het waerachtigh Roomsch Catholijck geloof ofte Religie, ende goede zeden'[12] (This book contains nothing that is contrary to the Catholic faith or morality). One is tempted to doubt whether the work of Bolognino was censored at all.

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7   Bolognino Guilielmus, *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* (Antwerp, Jan Cnobbaert: 1645) A8r.

8   Olthoff F., *De boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Antwerpen sedert de uitvinding der boekdrukkunst tot op onze dagen* (Antwerp: 1891) 18.

9   Bolognino, *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* A8r.

10   'Desen *gheestelycken leeuwercker*, bequaem zijnde om al singhende de herten van der aerden allenghskens opwaerts te trecken tot Godtvruchighe ende hemelsche begheer-ten, sal tot gheestelijck en stichtich vermaeck, profijtelijck in 't licht ghebroght worden.' Bolognino, *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* A8r.

11   Rosant Jacob, *De Evangelische Triumph-Wagen* (Antwerp, Hendrik Aertssens: 1654) *1v.

12   Bellemans Daniël, *Den Lieffelycken Paradys-voghel tot Godt om-hoogh vlieghende* (Brussels, Jacob vande Velde: 1674) XVI.

A Sampling of Religious Songs

On the title page of *Den Gheestelycken Leeuwercker* Bolognino indicates that the songbook is full of 'Godtvruchtighe Liedekens ende Leyssenen' (devotional songs and carols). Thus Bolognino emphasizes a particular kind of song, namely 'Leyssenen' (Christmas carols).[13] The collection contains no less than 57 Christmas carols, more than one fifth of all songs. On the title page he also indicates that his songbook is divided into three parts: 1. 'Van de verborghentheden Christi ende de H. Maghet MARIA'[14] (About the mysteries of Christ and the Holy Virgin Mary), 2. 'Van de Heylighen'[15] (About the saints) and 3. 'Van 't Gheloof, Hope ende Liefde, en[de] eenighe andere deughden etc.'[16] (About Faith, Hope and Charity and some other virtues).

In his preface 'Tot den goedtwillighen Leser' (To the benevolent reader), Bolognino amplifies on this division. To help the reader imitate the spiritual lark in climbing to heaven, the songbook provides the necessary teachings. In the preface Bolognino already refers to the ode on the love for God on page 448 [Fig. 4.2], to indicate that the reader is always seeking and that he will never be suitably satisfied until his soul finds rest and peace with God. This is definitely a core theme in his work, for he also wrote a play contrasting dissatisfaction with the world with satisfaction in the arms of God, *De Ghenoechsaemheyt van Godt, ende de onghenoechsaemheyt van de Werelt* (1640) ('The satisfaction of God and the dissatisfaction of the world') [Fig. 4.4].[17]

The first part of *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* contains 86 songs dealing with the sacred mysteries in the life of Jesus Christ and Mary. According to Bolognino these texts can serve as subject matter for meditation 'voor veel goey religieuzen ende andere Godt-vruchtighe zielen' (for many good clergymen and other God-fearing souls).[18] Bolognino opens the collection with a dozen songs about events prior to the birth of Jesus, such as the immaculate conception of Mary, the Annunciation and songs about the expectation of the coming of the Son of God. The Christmas story is told in no less than 57 songs, ranging from the birth of Jesus, to the circumcision, the Massacre of the Innocents, and

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13   Rasch R., *De cantiones natalitiae en het kerkelijke muziekleven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: 1985) 2.

14   Bolognino, *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* 1–176.

15   Ibidem 176–384.

16   Ibidem 385–528.

17   See the section 'Parish priest and Catechism teacher'.

18   Bolognino, *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* A2r.

FIGURE 4.2　*Gulielmus Bolognino,* Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker *(Antwerp, Jan Cnobbaert: 1645) 448–449. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, shelfmark C53223.*
IMAGE © ERFGOEDBIBLIOTHEEK HENDRIK CONSCIENCE ANTWERP.

Candlemas. To the Christmas carols he added a whole series of hymns to the child Jesus and his mother and two songs about Saint Joseph.

Only eight songs deal with the passion and resurrection of Christ. Even in these songs significant attention is devoted to the feelings of Mary, for instance in the song "Vande droefheydt van Maria in't lijden van haren Soon" ("On the sadness of Mary about the suffering of her son").[19] Then follow songs about the ecclesiastical holidays Our-Lord-Ascension, Pentecost and the feast of the Holy Trinity, as well as the veneration of the Holy Sacrament. Eight subsequent songs praise Mary, and one is about her assumption. The first part ends with 'overbleven liedekens van dit eerste deel' (remaining songs of this first part).[20] These are a few more Christmas carols, a song about the Transfiguration of Jesus and two songs on Bible texts of the evangelist Matthew.

The second part contains 101 songs about angels and saints. Nearly all authors of saint's songs organize their volumes chronologically according to the saint's feast day. In Catholic seventeenth-century songbooks in the Southern Netherlands, songs were increasingly arranged according to their use within the liturgical year. In Catholic songbooks in the Northern Netherlands, however, songs about saints were arranged according to the organization of the civil year, so starting on January 1 instead of on the first Sunday of Advent.[21] However, Bolognino opted for an unusual hierarchical organization. He began the second part with a song about the nine heavenly angelic choirs, and songs about the three archangels and the guardian angel. The angels are followed by the Prophet Elijah from the Old Testament and the parents of Mary, Joachim and Anna. It is rather unusual to add Old Testament and Apocryphal people to the saints, but later on Bolognino also included songs about Esther and Judith. He continued with the saints from the New Testament: John the Baptist, the twelve apostles and the four evangelists, a number of other saints, martyrs, popes, bishops and church fathers, founders of monastic orders, including Benedict, Dominic and Francis, a number of Jesuit saints, ending with female saints.

The third and last part of *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* contains 77 songs which deal not only with the Christian virtues announced in the preface, but also react against Protestantism, fervently pleading for Catholicism. Next are some songs, less polemic but rather moralizing, about suffering and the Four Last Things: death, the last judgment, heaven and hell. Bolognino continues

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19   Ibidem 128.

20   Ibidem 162–176.

21   Helmer G., *Den Gheestelijcken Nachtegael. Een liedboek uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Nijmegen: 1966) 13–15.

with a series of songs about the love between God and man in which he repeatedly uses terms and texts from the Song of Songs. The last series of songs deals with virtues such as truth, a good use of time, self-knowledge, humility, gratitude, purity and piety. These songs clearly show that the Catholic reader has to follow the path of virtue in order to gain heaven.

Although Bolognino arranged the songs into three main parts, the songbook is actually made up of multiple clusters of songs. The designation 'overbleven liedekens van dit eerste deel' (remaining songs of this first part) indicates that the book is a collection of songs Bolognino had written for several occasions rather than the result of a pre-established structure which he then filled with songs.

An Antwerp Canon

To find out which identities of Bolognino are represented in *Den Gheestelycken Leeuwercker*, we must first pay attention to his biography. Guilielmus Bolognino saw the light of day in Antwerp on March 18 1590, as son of Paulus Bolognino, a member of an Italian merchant family from Bologna, and Magdalena Olimaerts from Brabant. The Bolognino family had been living in Antwerp already since 1540.[22] Guilielmus studied philosophy and theology at the University of Leuven. After his studies he returned to Antwerp. On October 15 1627, he was appointed as parish priest of Saint George's church in Antwerp. In 1642, Bolognino was promoted to Canon of Antwerp Cathedral, a post he still held in 1657, as demonstrated by the title page of his booklet *Ni'uwe noodeliicke ortographie* (Antwerp: 1657) 'door den Eerw. Heer Guilielmus Bolognino, S.T.L. Canonic van de Cathedrale Kerck tot Antwerpen' [Fig. 4.3]. In this book he proposes a new spelling which would better reflect established pronunciation. At the end of it he adds a poem 'Den Aucteur tot syn Vader-landt, de Stadt van Antwerpen' ('The author to his fatherland, the city of Antwerp') in which he claims that the best kind of Dutch is spoken in Antwerp.

Some of Bolognino's songs contain typical Antwerp dialect words and sounds which only rhyme if they are pronounced in the Antwerp dialect: for instance in the Christmas carols the infant is often referred to as 'kinneken' (little child) instead of the more general Dutch form 'kindeken', 'lest' rhymes

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22   Prims F., *Geschiedenis van Sint-Jorisparochie en -kerk te Antwerpen* (*1304–1923*) (Antwerp: 1923) 220. Goetschalckx P.J., *Geschiedenis der Kanunniken van O.L.V. Kapittel te Antwerpen* (*1585–1700*) (Antwerp: 1929) 240. Demarré I., *Het katholieke volksliedboek in Zuid-Nederland in de eerste helft van de XVIIe eeuw*, (Leuven: 1962) 183.
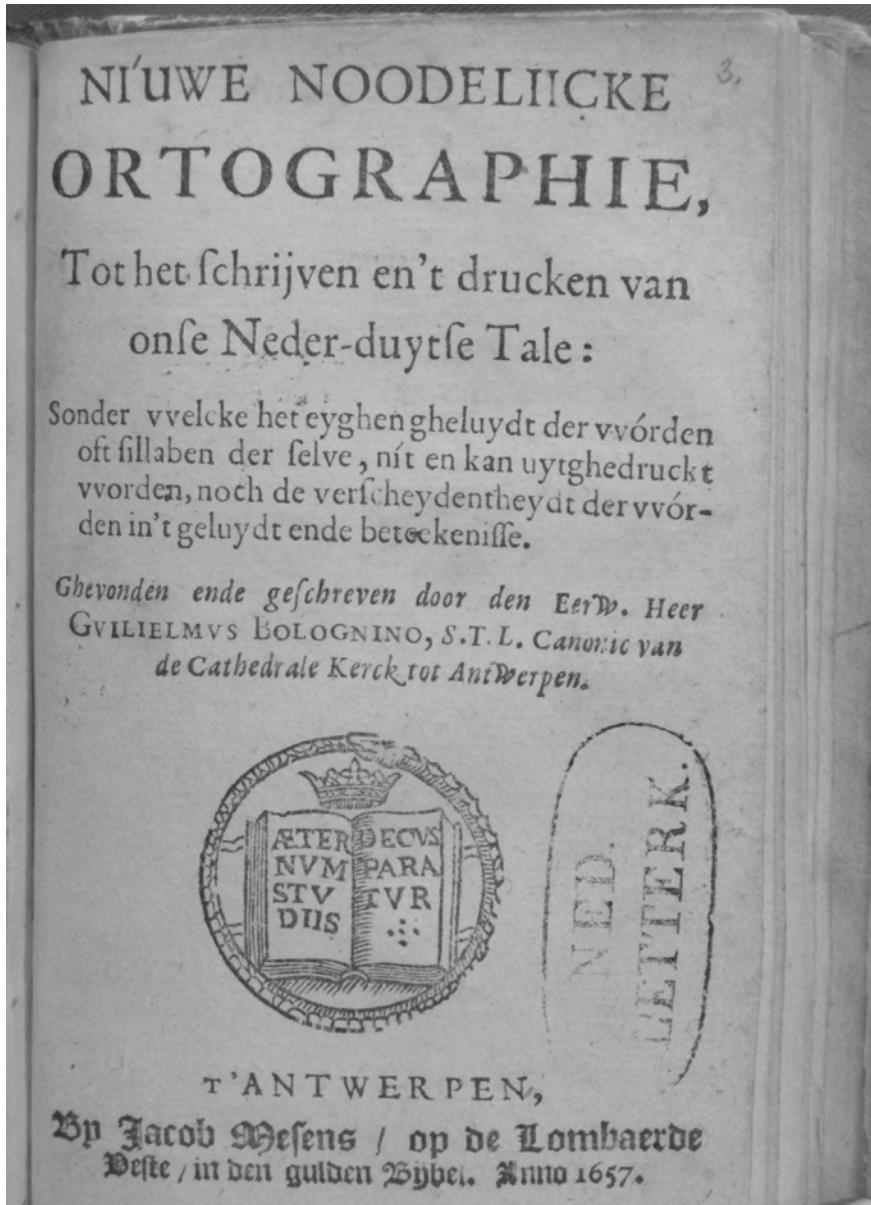
FIGURE 4.3 *Guilielmus Bolognino,* Ni'uwe noodeliicke ortographie (*Antwerp, Mesens: 1657*)
title page. Leiden, University Library, 1193 G 21:3.
IMAGE © MAATSCHAPPIJ DER NEDERLANDSE LETTERKUNDE LEIDEN.

with 'gheweest' and 'armen' with 'verwermen'.[23] The use of these typically Antwerp or Brabantian words and pronunciation indicates that these songs were made particularly for an Antwerp or at least Brabantian audience.

The special relationship of Bolognino with Antwerp becomes more evident in the second part containing songs about saints. In the song "Verwecksel van de Stadt van Antwerpen tot dancbaerheydt tot haren Apostel den H. Norbertus" ("Exhortation of the city of Antwerp to gratitude to her apostle Saint Norbert"), he urges Antwerp to be grateful towards Saint Norbert because he saved the town from heresy.[24] In a second song Saint Norbert is hailed as the founder of the Premonstratensian order.

In the selection of his saints Bolognino was clearly guided by local interests. The patron saints of all Antwerp parishes, like Saint Paul, Saint Jacob, Saint Andrew, Saint George, Saint Walburgis and Our Lady, are each given a song.[25] But he also devotes songs to patron saints from neighbouring towns like Saint Gummar in Lier or Saint Rumbold in Mechelen.[26] In the same vein almost all the founders of religious orders who have an establishment in Antwerp, are given a song. With some orders like the Jesuits, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians, Bolognino apparently had closer ties, because he also dedicated songs to canonized members of these orders, like Ignatius of Loyola, Franciscus Borgia and Aloisius Gonzaga from the Jesuits or Nicolaus Tolentinas and Thomas de Villanova from the Augustinians.[27]

Parish Priest and Catechism Teacher

During his years as parish priest Bolognino also engaged in the religious education of the youngsters from the parish of Saint-George. He used the most modern didactic resources by having them perform plays, which he wrote himself. In 1640 he wrote a play called *De Ghenoechsaemheyt van Godt, ende de onghenoechsaemheyt van de Werelt speel-wijs verthoont in den H. Laurentius Iustinianus Patriarch van Venetien* ('The satisfaction of God and the dissatisfaction of the world, shown by means of a play about St. Lawrence Iustinian

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23   Bolognino, *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* 13, 21, 40, 57. Some other examples of Antwerp dialect words are 'just' (14), 'welden' (14), 'loeft' (14), 'begost' (15), 'sieget' (21), 'stroot' (49).

24   Ibidem 318.

25   Ibidem 196, 198, 200, 227, 357.

26   Ibidem 233–235.

27   Ibidem 290, 294, 297, 307, 310.

Patriarch of Venice') [Fig. 4.4].[28] The title page stated that it was performed by the 'Ionckheydt van de Parochie van S. Ioris tot Antwerpen' (the youth (i.e. children of the Catechism lessons) of the parish of St-George in Antwerp). In the play Bolognino incorporated nine songs, six of which he included in the third part of *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker*, although he clustered only three of them under the title of the play.[29]

A year later, in 1641, eight girls and six boys of the parish of Saint George in Antwerp played *Dorothea Maeghet ende Marteleresse* ('Dorothea, virgin and martyr'), about the life of Saint Dorothea. The title-page explicitly mentions that it contains 'verscheyde Gheestelijcke Liedekens' (several sacred songs).[30] De Cooman argues that this anonymously published saint's play must have been written by Bolognino because of the nine songs it contains. Bolognino included six of these songs in the third part of *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker*[31] without any reference to the play. He adapted a seventh song about Dorothea herself, the final Dutch song in the play, to fit it in with the saint's songs in the second part of his songbook.[32] De Cooman also uses the latter finding to assign authorship of the play to Bolognino, arguing that an author of a songbook would not engage in rewriting songs of other authors if he wanted to include these texts. Moreover, the whole play exudes a Catholic-moralizing atmosphere which can also be found in many of the songs. Based on these

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28   Bolognino Guilielmus, *De Ghenoechsaemheyt van Godt, ende de onghenoechsaemheyt van de Werelt, speel-wijs verthoont in den H. Laurentius Iustinianus Patriarch van Venetien* (Antwerp, Jacob Mesens: 1640).

29   The first (A3r) and last song (B8v) from the play are published as a two-part song in *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* on p. 438, The second song from the play (A4r) is published in the songbook on p. 457, the fourth song (A7r) on p. 445, the fifth song (B1r) on p. 442, the seventh song (B6r) on p. 455 and the eighth song (B7r) on p. 492. Song three (A6r) and six (B4v) have been published in the songbook *Den Verholen Minnensanck* (1657) on p. 22 and 20.

30   Bolognino Guilielmus, *Dorothea Maeghet ende Marteleresse* (Antwerp, Jacob Mesens: 1641) A1r. Cooman I. de, "Van podium naar liedboek. Guilelmus Bolognino en de toneel-liederen in 'Dorothea maeghet en martelaresse' (1641)", *De zeventiende eeuw* 19 (2003) 211–225.

31   The second song (p. 6) from the play is included in *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* on pp. 491–492, the third (p. 7) on pp. 483–485, the fourth (p. 11) on pp. 516–518, the fifth (p. 12) on pp. 520–521, the sixth (p. 16) on pp. 405–407 and the seventh (p. 29) on pp. 409–411. The ninth song (p. 32), a Latin hymn to Dorothea, is the only one from the play that was never included in a songbook.

32   Stanzas 5–9 of the eighth song in the play correspond with stanzas 3–7 of the saint's song about Dorothea in *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker*.

FIGURE 4.4 *Guilielmus Bolognino*, De Ghenoechsaemheyt van Godt,
ende de onghenoechsaemheyt van de Werelt, speel-wijs
verthoont in den H. Laurentius Iustinianus Patriarch van
Venetien (*Antwerp, Jacob Mesens: 1640*) *title page. Antwerp,*
Library of the Royal Conservatoire, s-tv-bolog-ghenoec-1.
IMAGE © LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL CONSERVATOIRE
ANTWERP.

facts, De Cooman concludes that Bolognino must have written the songs and the play himself.[33]

Two songs from *Dorothea* were later included in other songbook collections. The first song (p. 5) in the play, which is not in *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker*, appears in Bolognino's *Den Verholen Minnen- sanck* ('The hidden love song') (1657),[34] which also contained 'some sacred songs in addition to *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker*'.[35] The second song (p. 6) can be found in *Den Blijden Weg tot Bethleem voor de Christelijcke jonckheyt* ('The joyful path to Bethlehem for the Christian youth') (1645)[36] and later on in *Lust- en Bloemenhoff, met veel welruykende, en ghenuyghelijcke Bloemen van geestelijcke nieuwe en oude gesangen* ('Pleasure and flower garden, with sweet-scented and pleasant flowers of sacred new and old songs') (1660).[37] All the songs from the plays have a clearly didactic intention. This didactic concern probably explains the large number of Christmas carols in *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker*, some of which were possibly written to be sung by the young people during the catechism lessons.

Bolognino the Polemicist

At the University of Leuven Bolognino had studied philosophy and theology and for a few years he even taught philosophy at the college 'De Valk' (The Falcon).[38] When he signed his work, he always added the abbreviation S.T.L. (*Sacrae Theologiae Licentiatus*). As Canon of the Antwerp Cathedral, Bolognino also became an official censor of books. A censor had to verify each manuscript before it was printed to ensure it contained nothing contrary to faith and Catholic doctrine. He signed the approbations with 'Guil. Bolognino S.Th.Lic.Can. & Lib. Censor Antwerp'. Thus, Bolognino was sufficiently trained for confrontation with Calvinist preachers.

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33   I. de Cooman, "Van podium naar liedboek" 211–225.

34   Printed by Jacob Mesens in Antwerp in 1657, 18.

35   Waer by van hem ghevoeght zijn eenighe Gheestelijcke Liedekens tot vermeerderinghe van sijnen, Gheestelijcken Leeuvvercker. G. Bolognino, *Den Verholen Minnen-sanck* (Antwerp, Jacob Mesens: 1657) title-page.

36   Printed by H. Verdussen in Antwerp in 1645, 96.

37   Printed by Hendric van Borculo in Antwerp in 1660, 257.

38   Prims, *Geschiedenis van Sint-Jorisparochie en -kerk* 220; Goetschalckx, *Geschiedenis der Kanunniken* 240. Demarré, *Het katholieke volksliedboek* 183–184. Frederiks J.G. – Van den Branden F.J., *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord-en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde* (Amsterdam: 1888) 61.

The capture of 's-Hertogenbosch, a Catholic town and Antwerp's direct trading partner, on September 14 1629 made him take up his pen. Particularly the fact that the Calvinist preachers tried to persuade the Dutch Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik, the conqueror of the town, to force the inhabitants to yield to Protestantism immediately and to prohibit the free exercise of Catholicism, was a good reason for Bolognino to support the Catholics. For those who wanted to hold on to their faith, he wrote a few elaborate works in which he offered sophisticated theological arguments to refute the rhetoric of the Protestant preachers about the superiority of Calvinism. Already in 1630 he reacted with his *Claer wederlegh vanden versierden ouderdom des Calvinisten gheloove: daer, in een seker manifest, van roemen Gisbertus Voetius, Henricus Swalmius, Godefridus Udemans, ende Samuel Everwijn, Woordendienaers van s'Hertoghenbossche*[39] ('A clear refutation of the fictitious age of the Calvinist faith about which Gisbertus Voetius, Henricus Swalmius, Godefridus Udemans, and Samuel Everwijn, preachers in 's-Hertoghenbosch, are boasting in a manifesto') [Fig. 4.5] to a Calvinist manifesto by Henricus Swalmius and others that was published in the same year in 's-Hertogenbosch: *Naerder openinge. Van de manifeste by de vier predicanten binnen S'hertogenbossche den xvj. maij. uytgegeuen* [...] *tegens seecker cartel* [...] *by tvvee doctores tot Louen* [...] *toeghesonden* ('Further explanation of the manifesto by the four preachers in 's-Hertoghenbosch published on 16 May against a certain pamphlet sent to them by two theologians from Leuven').[40]

In 1632 *Uit-vaert van het ghereformeert Nachtmael* ('Funeral of the reformed Last Supper')[41] followed in the same style; in it he defended the Eucharist against the Protestant Holy Communion, in response to a pamphlet by Lambertus de Rycke, *Utvaert ende begravinghe vande paepsche transsubstantiatie, mitsgaders oock van hare misse* ('Funeral and burial of the popish transubstantiation, and also of their mass').[42] In 1638 he reacted again with *Uit-vaert van de Ketterije* ('Funeral of heresy')[43] [Fig. 4.6], this time to two Calvinist pamphlets by Jacobus Triglandius, *Kort ende goet bescheyt aenden Antwerpschen voorbode, noopende eenighe ghetuyghenissen der H Schrift* ('Short and good answer to the Antwerp herald about some testimonies of the Holy Scripture')[44] and

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39   Printed by Caesar Joachim Trognesius in Antwerp.

40   Printed by Jan van Turnhout in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1630.

41   Printed by Jan Cnobbaert in Antwerp in 1632.

42   Printed by Isaack van Waesberghe in Rotterdam for Rombout van Hamerstede in Berghen op den Zoom in 1630.

43   Printed by Iacob Mesens in Antwerp in 1638.

44   Published by Marten Iansz Brandt and printed by Johannes Jaquet in Amsterdam in 1634.
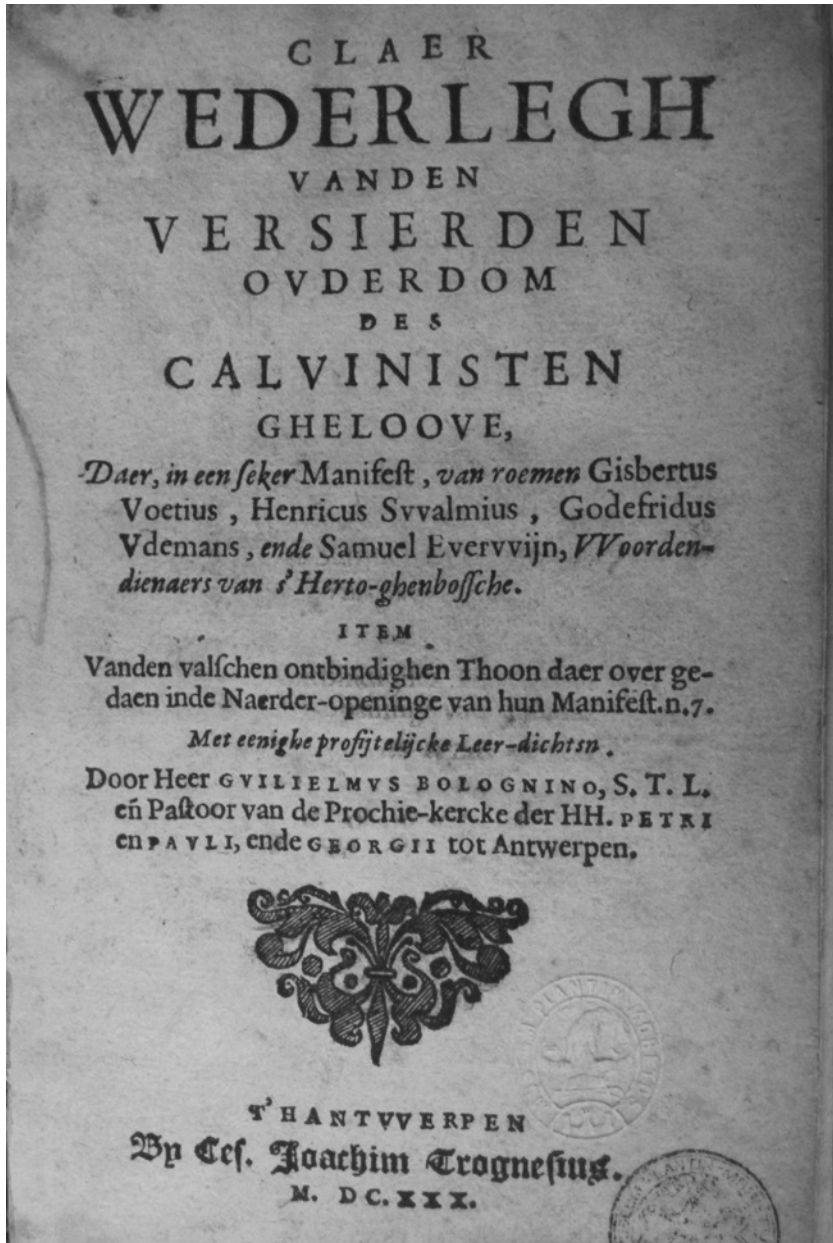
FIGURE 4.5 *Guilielmus Bolognino*, Claer wederlegh vanden versierden ouderdom des
　　　　　　Calvinisten gheloove: daer, in een seker manifest, van roemen Gisbertus
　　　　　　Voetius, Henricus Swalmius, Godefridus Udemans, ende Samuel Everwijn,
　　　　　　Woordendienaers van s'Hertoghenbossche (*Antwerp, Caesar Joachim
　　　　　　Trognesius: 1630*) *title page. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, A3599.*
　　　　　　IMAGE © MUSEUM PLANTIN-MORETUS ANTWERP.

FIGURE 4.6   *Guilielmus Bolognino,* Uitvaert van de Ketterye (*Antwerp, Jacob
              Mesens: 1638) title page. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik
              Conscience, F 133080.*
              IMAGE © ERFGOEDBIBLIOTHEEK HENDRIK CONSCIENCE.

Los gebouw des pausdoms, Dat is: Klare verthooninghe, hoe dat de kerckelijcke monarchie ende hierarchie des pausdoms, op een los, ja versiert, fundament ghebouwt staet ('The wobbly edifice of the papacy, that is: a clear demonstration how the ecclesiastical monarchy and the hierarchy of the papacy is built on a wobbly, even fictitious foundation').[45] Twenty years later, in 1658, Bolognino took pen in hand again for a final pamphlet, *Den toets-steen van allen de geloovingen der nieuwghesinde ende van de christelijke gheloovinghe der catholijcke* ('The touchstone of all the tenets of the Protestants and of the Christian belief of the Catholics').[46] This way Bolognino sided with the battery of Catholic clergy which particularly during the first half of the seventeenth century was frequently engaged in polemics with Protestant preachers. However, the work of Bolognino transcended the level of an ordinary pamphlet.

All of his polemical works were written in prose. But at the end of *Claer wederlegh vanden versierden ouderdom des Calvinisten gheloove* Bolognino added 'eenighe profiiteliicke leerdichten' (some beneficial didactic poems), seven didactic poems which he had already announced on the title page [Fig. 4.5]. Nothing in the *Claer wederlegh* points out that these poems were destined to be sung. However, Bolognino included the seven poems in *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* and added an eighth not mentioned in *Claer Wederlegh*. He announces them as 'Acht leer-dichten dienende tot het gheloof' (Eight didactic poems serving faith)[47] [Fig. 4.7]. Under this heading Bolognino gives the indication 'op de naervolghende wijze' (to the following tune) followed by music notation. The tune is mentioned only above the first song, but as it follows immediately after the overall title of the eight poems one may assume that all eight didactic poems could be sung to this hitherto unidentified melody. That all eight poems have a common melody is confirmed by the stanza form which is the same for all eight as well: four-line iambic strophes, with four accents in each verse and rhyming abab, with feminine a's and masculine b's. This stanza form occurs very frequently. The *Nederlandse Liederenbank* (Dutch Song Database) contains 846 songs[48] which fit with such a stanza form, with many different tune indications. They can be found already in the sixteenth-century *Antwerps Liedboek* ('Antwerp Songbook'), but also in French *airs de cour*, in songs in the popular profane collections from the seventeenth and eighteenth

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45   Ibidem.

46   Printed by Jacob Mesens in Antwerp in 1658.

47   Bolognino, *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* 391–402. The numbering goes wrong because two songs get the number seven. This indicates that after *Claer Wederlegh* a song (nr. 5) was added to the series.

48   www.liederenbank.nl [accessed: 10 November 2014].

Den Gheestelijcken Leeu-wercker.   391

ACHT LEER-DICHTEN

Dienende tot het gheloof.

Op de naervolghende wijse.

O Christen all' wilt laten va-ren Het dwaes

beleydt van u vernuft/ Dat niet dan dolingh en

kan baren / Dat altijdt wanc-kelt/ altijdt suft.

1.

't En is niet ghenoech de Goddelijcke Letter te
hebben , sonder den Goddelijcken
sinne.

O Christen al / wilt laten baren
   Het dwaes beleydt van u vernuft /
   Dat niet dan dolingh en kan baren /
   Dat altijdt wanckelt / altijdt suft.
Ghy wilt Godts woordt al gaen door-lesen
   Maer wie sal 't u recht doen verstaen ?
                                                    Ge-
             Bb 4

FIGURE 4.7   *Guilielmus Bolognino*, Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker (*Antwerp, Jan
             Cnobbaert: 1645*) *391. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, C53223.*
             IMAGE © ERFGOEDBIBLIOTHEEK HENDRIK CONSCIENCE ANTWERP.

centuries, and in both Catholic and Protestant songbooks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In his polemic *Claer Wederlegh* Bolognino provides no tune indications for the seven didactic poems. Considering the very common stanza form and the many tune possibilities, it was not out of the question that readers might associate the texts spontaneously with a tune they already knew, and might have sung the poems anyway.

That lyrics and tunes were associated is shown in a remarkable copy of *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* preserved in the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience in Antwerp.[49] The seventeenth-century possessor of this book added more than fifty tune indications in manuscript. He or she opted several times for a well-known Dutch tune instead of the French tune suggested by Bolognino. The seventeenth-century reader did this also for two of the eight didactic poems/songs in this series. Song six made him or her think of the song "Slaet op den trommel" ("Beat on the drum") [Fig. 4.8] which probably refers to the old *Geuzenlied* ('Beggar's song') "Slaet op den Trommele van dir-redomdeinne" from ca. 1566; at least, the stanza forms correspond. Song seven apparently made him or her think of the song "Wilder dan wild wie salder mij temmen" ("Wilder than wild who will tame me"), originally a song about desperate love, which was turned into a spiritual prayer song published in *Gheesteliick Paradiisken der Wel-lusticheden*, deel 4 *Het Lelieveldeken* ('Sacred paradise of delights, part 4, the Lily field') (1619).[50] It was also included in *Parnassus, dat is den blijen-bergh der gheestelijcke vreught* ('Parnassus, that is the joyful spiritual mountain') printed in 1623 where it is signed with the initials F.G.S.B., which stand for the Friar Willem van Spoelbergh.[51]

Not only the third part of *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* contains songs that served in the fight against heresy. In many songs in the second part, which at first sight are not explicitly targeted against heresy, Bolognino inserted allusions which cannot be misunderstood. In 1632 Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik had captured Maastricht. In several saint's songs Bolognino refers to this town. His choice of saints may easily have been affected by the events. In the song about Maastricht's patron Saint Servatius (253), the saint is praised explicitly as the best opponent of heresy in his own time. However, the singer or

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49 Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience (Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library): shelfmark C53223. (Available online: http://anet.ua.ac.be/digital/opacuantwerpen/ehc/o:lvd:887726/N).

50 Pretere Guilelmus de, *Gheesteliick paradiisken der wel-lusticheden* (Antwerp, Hendrick Aertsen: 1619) IV, 40.

51 Spoelbergh Willem van, *Parnassus, dat is den blijen-bergh der gheestelijcke vreught* (Antwerp, Geeraerdt van Wolsschaten: 1623) 96–97. For the later songbooks see: www.liederenbank.nl.

398   Het derde deel

't Woordt keuren / en den sin met eenen /
Waer in m' op 't Woordt niet staen en kan/
Al meynt by hen (wel te betreuren)
Dat hy op 't Woordt staet alle man,
Ghenadich Godt/ wilt hen doch gheven
Door uwen Soon 't waerachtich licht :
Op dat sy eeuwich met ons leven
Door u schoon Wesens claer ghesicht.

[handwritten marginal note: staet op de frommel soot placht voor komma]

6.

De eendrachticheydt is 't Merck-teecken van
't waerachtich gheloove.

Enig den Heer / een moet oock wesen
Sijn recht gheloof / sijn waere Kerck /
Die hy alleen heeft uyt-ghelesen /
En haeren eendracht is sijn werck.
Daer eyghen sin is uyt-ghebannen /
Die twist / en werringh altijdt baert /
Die heerscht by brouwen / en by mannen
In 't hoopken van Calvin vergaert.
Daerom gheen twisten daer ghebreken /
En sonder middel van gheslis :
Die vanden wegh is eens gheweken
Tot vele weghen doolt ghewis.
Men stelt de krijchs-lie tusschen beyden /
En weiren moordt / maer niet den will' /
Die roers en sweerden moghen scheyden /
Maer slissen niet 't gheloofs gheschil.
Wilt ghy ont-luycken maer u ooghen /
Ghy sult haest mercken aen de vrught /
Tot wat gheloof gh' u moet pooghen /
Van 't welck ghy nemen moet de vlught.
Men krijt by u / by ons is vrede /
Men werr 't by u / by ons is rust /
Men strijdt by u van ste tot stede /
Wy sijn 't al eens / 't is eenen lust.
a Ephes. 4. v. 3.

Daer 's

Den Gheestelijcken Leeu-wercker.   399

Daer 's gheen gheschil in heele rijcken /
Gheen huys van twist by u is vrij.
Waer sachmen tweedracht opt dus wijcken
Daer dolingh is en ketterij ?
Hoe kost van eene waerheydt dalen
Tot een bedrogh soo menich landt ?
Waer siet m' er van den wegh al dwalen
Tot eenen padt van alle kant ?
Men siet daer een gheloof beminnen
Al offer maer een hert en waer/
Al offer waer een tongh / een' sinnen/
Soo spreck 't al een-stemmich daer.
Dit heeft soo menich hondert iaeren
Door Godts beleydt aldus gheduert /
Die kan in ons alleen bewaeren
De selve leer gants ongheruert.

7.

De saechtheyt van de Leeraers, ende de ruymte
der leeren is het merck-teecken van een
valsche leere.

[handwritten marginal note]

De wijst' en heylich oock van leven
Eendrachtich hebben 't daer gheleert /
In 's Heeren Woordt wel meer bedreven/
Als die 't al hebben dus verkeert.
Heeft Godt soo langh die iaeren dwalen
Tot af-godts dienst van steen en broodt/
Die om sijn liefd' hen lieten malen /
Soo strengh hen dienden tot hun doodt ?
O Herders die wel saechtjens slapen
Heel nachten by hun Herderin /

Ontfan

a Tertullianus de praes. c. 28. Iren.l.cont.hær.c 2.

FIGURE 4.8   *Guilielmus Bolognino*, Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker (*Antwerp, Jan Cnobbaert:
1645*) *398–399. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, C53223.*
IMAGE © ERFGOEDBIBLIOTHEEK HENDRIK CONSCIENCE ANTWERP.

reader will have understood that Bolognino was also referring to the contemporary heretics who had conquered Maastricht. The same applies to Saint Amand (257) from whom help is sought to combat heresy with a reference to Maastricht, and to Saint Lambert (231), who in the seventh century was exiled from Maastricht but eventually was restored by king Pepin.

Moreover, Bolognino's songs fit in perfectly with the propaganda of the counter-reformational offensive conducted from Antwerp. The worshipping of saints occupied an important place in the Counter-Reformation. It is also no coincidence that many songs focus on Mary. Devotion to Mary was strongly encouraged in seventeenth-century Antwerp, particularly by the Jesuits. This also fitted in with the fight against heresy, since the Protestants opposed devotion to Mary and the saints because it would distract the people's attention

from God. It is striking that Bolognino refers to the Maria lactans motif in no less than sixteen songs and often speaks about her in rather erotic terms.[52]

A Man of the World

This erotic overtone matches the songs from which Bolognino had borrowed his melodies. Like most seventeenth-century song authors Bolognino used the principle of 'contrafactuur'. More than half of his songs have a melody inspired on French *airs de cour*; the other melodies are Dutch, Italian and Latin. As the son of an Italian merchant, Bolognino came from a well-to-do family. That implies that in his youth he very likely became acquainted with the sophisticated music popular in his time, including the *airs de cour*.

That more than half of the songs in *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* have French tune indications does not necessarily mean that Bolognino knew the original of every French *air de cour*. For instance the melody 'C'est trod [trop] courir ces eaux' (48) [Fig. 4.9] by the composer Pierre Guédron was originally meant for the *Description du ballet de Madame sœur aisnee du Roy* (Maria de Medicis, widow of Henry IV and mother of Louis XIII) (1615) where the song, a text of Estienne Durand, is sung by the Tritonides.[53] In the same year, the song was included in Gabriel Bataille's *Airs de differents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth*, published by Ballard in Paris.[54] The melody of "C'est trop courir les eaux", however, also enjoyed great fame in the Low Countries: the Dutch Song Database contains no less than 132 songs referring to this melody.[55] In other words, it would be difficult to determine from where exactly Bolognino knew the tune.

Another example is Bolognino's use of the melody of the *air de cour* "Cruelle despartie" (407), which originally appeared in Pierre Guédron's *Airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties* (Pierre Ballard 1602 and 1608),[56] but this melody was already circulating in the Low Countries prior to Bolognino's use and had been quoted by religious authors such as Joannes Stalpart van der Wiele and the Protestant Jacobus Revius. But Bolognino may also have found this melody in the spiritual French songbook *La pieuse Alouette avec son Tirelire* (1619–1621)

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52   Bolognino, *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* 19, 22, 25, 36, 37, 39, 53, 54, 60, 74, 83, 89, 92, 97, 98, 164.

53   Durand E., *Poésies complètes,* eds. H. Rogers – R. Rosenstein (Geneva: 1990) 214.

54   Duyse F. van, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied.* Part I (The Hague – Antwerp: 1903) 496–497.

55   www.liederenbank.nl [accessed: 11 November 2014].

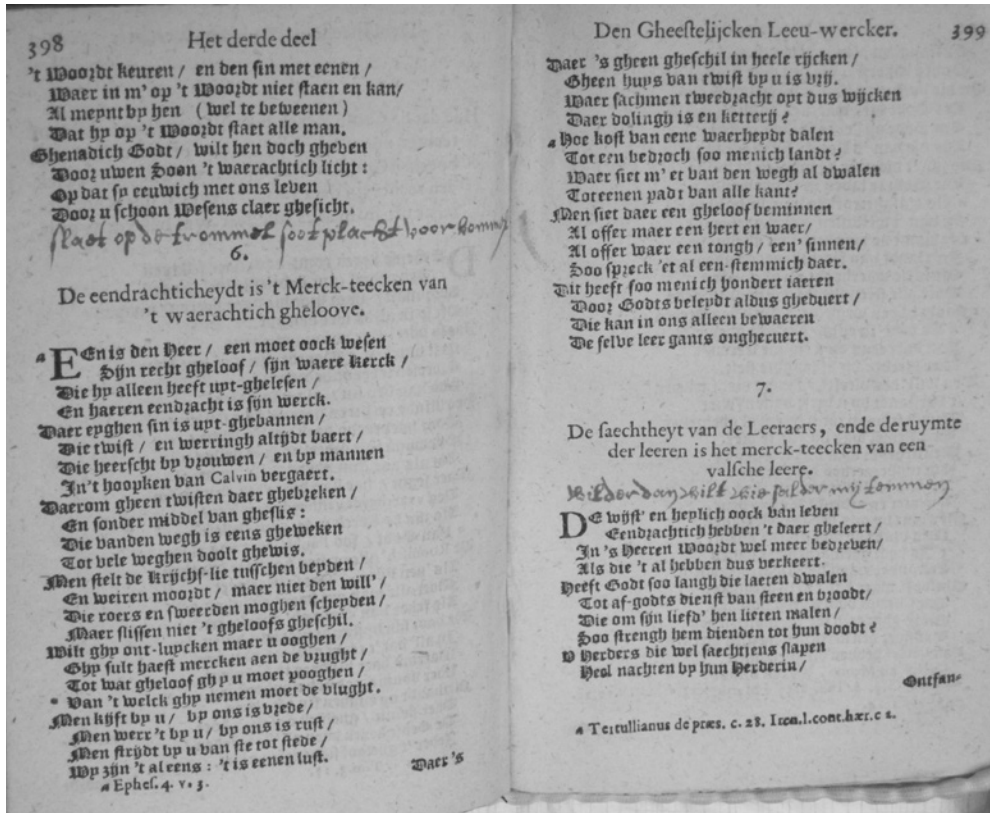56   Durosoir G., *L'air de cour en France, 1571–1655* (Liège: 1991) 89.

FIGURE 4.9 *Guilielmus Bolognino, Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker (Antwerp, Jan Cnobbaert: 1645) 48–49. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, C53223.*
IMAGE © ERFGOEDBIBLIOTHEEK HENDRIK CONSCIENCE ANTWERP.

by A. de la Cauchie, a collection which in its in turn contains many religious contrafacta of French *air de cour* collections, such as those by Bataille.[57] The same holds for "Bel qui m'avez blessée" (72), which had already appeared in Bataille's *Airs de different autheurs, mis en tablature de Luth* (1609). A year later the song was attributed to Pierre Guédron, and it quickly became very popular in France, and also in the Netherlands where it was used by Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft and Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero.

Not all melodies Bolognino referred to, however, were already known in the Low Countries. From the 136 French melody indications only twenty can be identified by means of the Dutch Song Database. Sometimes Bolognino used a religious French melody that he may have found in a religious songbook such as 'Doux Jésus mon sauveur' (p. 266), but most French tune indications clearly refer to profane melodies, such as love songs, mythological songs, pastoral songs and drinking songs. Twenty of the 136 French tune indications mention the name of a shepherd such as Philis, Cloris, Sylvie or Tyrcis. Many tunes are from songs about love, drinking or nature. Five tunes are based on old court dances such as the *courante, sarabande* or *gaillarde*. Apparently, Bolognino was often the first and only one to use these melodies in the Low Countries. Probably they were still unknown to the general public and therefore he has also added music notation. His knowledge of these French songs suggests that even as a priest he was also a man of the world. Although we have not yet succeeded in identifying all French models, many stanzas give the impression that they are strongly inspired by the original French love songs, often substituting 'Jesus' or 'Mary' for the name of the lovers.

Conclusion

From the observations made above we may deduce the following identities of Bolognino, shown in his songbook: inhabitant of Antwerp, parish priest, canon and teacher of catechism, theologian and polemicist, and man of the world. This implies that he also belonged to groups with a similar identity and that his songs also might have appealed to those groups. So identifying the genres of different songs can help to identify or describe the audience for whom *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* was intended. Most of the carols and the songs from the plays were fit for catechesis; songs about the saints worshipped in Antwerp would have appealed to the parishioners of the Antwerp churches; saints'

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57   Cauchie Antoine de la, *La pieuse alouette avec son tirelire* (Valencienne, Jean Vervliet: 1619) 99.

songs, songs about Mary and polemical songs fitted in with the controversy with the Calvinists. Theological and mystical songs were suitable for religious people during meditation. The profane French melodies with music notations were intended to entice citizens educated in music to sing religious songs.

With his songbook Bolognino differed in several respects from his colleagues. *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* is clearly an author's collection, in which he gathered the songs he had written on very different occasions and with which he articulated his own identities as a song poet. On the one hand, it is a songbook with a rather strong local character; on the other, because of its strong polemical slant it is also a weapon in the fight against heresy and the Calvinists.

By writing polemical, didactic, moralising and contemplative Dutch songs on foreign melodies, which were never used before in the Low Countries, it is possible that Bolognino functioned as a kind of culture broker introducing new, mainly profane melodies via traditional religious songs. However, it is not easy to find out whether he actually fulfilled this role. *Den Gheestelijcken Leeuwercker* was never reprinted and only a few songs were included in later songbooks. The Dutch Song Database shows that he was the first but often also the only one in the Low Countries who wrote contrafacta to these French tunes. Considering the popularity of French melodies in sacred songbooks of the Southern Netherlands, further research into the role of these melodies in Dutch contrafacture of the seventeenth century will have to explain why the melodies used by Bolognino, notwithstanding the music notation, barely influenced the seventeenth century song writers after all. According to the current state of research Bolognino has to be regarded as a solitary priest and poet with an exquisite taste for French song.

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Songs and Identities: Handwritten Secular Songbooks in German-Speaking Areas of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

*Franz-Josef Holznagel**

Introduction

The goal of this article is to investigate a particular corpus of German song-books, namely the handwritten secular songbooks of the fifteenth and six-teenth centuries, in the light of one of the questions central to this volume: 'In what ways can songs and identities be connected?' There are two reasons for adopting this approach.

First of all, the corpus I will be considering is correctly said to mark the transition between the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. Its discussion may give important insights into the scriptographic transmission, accumulation and storage of texts and melodies which constitute an essential genre of late-medieval German literature. Furthermore, the German song of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is connected with other European regions as well (such as the Netherlands and Denmark), so my thoughts may also be useful for the investigation of other poetic traditions.

Secondly, the interests of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century writers, users and readers were explicitly inscribed into these songbook manuscripts. In my opinion, this happens more obviously and clearly than in the preceding periods. Hence inquiry into the social significance of late-medieval poetry and its setting in life must consider all aspects of the relevant manuscripts, for their configurations, their page layouts, their paratexts and their compilations of texts and melodies indicate with considerable precision their owners' interests and their reasons for collecting songs.

The main reason for the increasing number of personal (or at least group-specific) inscriptions in manuscripts from 1510 on lies in a remarkable tension between the handwritten songbook and the development of letterpress printing that evolved simultaneously and caused a significant change in the role

of handwriting. Though the manuscript remained the common medium for literary communication grounded in writing in the second half of the fifteenth century, this began to change against the background of letterpress printing. Handwriting was now seen as somehow ephemeral, temporary and unimportant, or it was connected with a private and intimate sphere. It was used mainly for the non-standardized acquisition and compilation of texts, pictures and melodies. The latter phenomenon seems to be an important reason for the fact that—simultaneously with the establishment of new kinds of printed song tradition—manuscript culture experienced a remarkable renaissance even though it seemed to have been made redundant or obsolete by the success of Gutenberg's invention.

My article consists of two parts:

– In a first step the whole corpus of relevant manuscripts will be presented (for a list of these manuscripts and information about the abbreviations, see the appendix) and two of them will be described in more detail: the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' [Ro] and the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' [Be_4].
– The observations based on these two sources will establish the foundation for questions concerning the relationship between songs and identities. I will show how, even in the fifteenth century, identities could inscribe themselves into the materiality of songbooks and how the medium of the handwritten songbook itself helped to build identities. Finally, I will extend these observations in order to consider the following question: what influence does the competition between scriptographic and typographic media have on the relationship between songs and identities in the songbooks? This will be illustrated using the example of the 'Darfelder Liederhandschrift' [Da] and the 'Liederbuch der Katharina von Hatzfeld' [Be_6].

The Corpus

1   *The Handwritten Secular Songbook as a Medium*

How can the handwritten secular songbooks of the German-speaking areas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries be defined?[1] They are collections of songs

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1   For a detailed description of the medium of the handwritten secular songbook of the fifteenth and sixteenth century cf.: Holznagel F.-J., "Weltliche Liederbücher des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Zur Beschreibung eines literarisch-musikalischen Diskurses im deutschsprachigen Mittelalter", in Krämer O. – Schröder M. (eds.), *'Hebt man den Blick, so sieht man*

with predominantly secular topics which are compiled (some of them with tune indications and a few with musical notation) as independent, small-scale manuscripts or as clearly defined parts of manuscripts with multiple texts, and they normally do not transmit authors' names (even if the authors are generally known). They are plain manuscripts for everyday use; they do not usually have any kind of ornamentation and do not set out to draw attention to themselves with regards to their format, page layout and palaeographic accomplishment. The texts in these collections transmit and modify typical genres of the German *Minnesang* but often also combine these traditional texts with those of different and, in some cases, later genres. Sometimes, anonymized songs of well-known authors (such as Oswald von Wolkenstein or the Monk of Salzburg) found their way into the collections (the melodies were adapted to their new environment in revised versions). Rarely found in the songbooks are other genres of songs, such as works of the *Meistersinger* or songs in the tradition of Neidhart. Some genres, finally, do not appear at all, for example the new Latin poetry popular in the sixteenth century. Most of the songs are monophonic but sometimes we find polyphonic settings of their melodies.

The hand-written secular German songbook of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can thus be characterized as a distinct medium which combines certain formal traits (the small, simple manuscript for everyday use) with typical content (late-medieval love songs and some extensions) and characteristic styles of assembly, of which the most important is the anonymity of the songs. Therefore, these manuscripts are distinctly different from the great luxuriously-executed song-manuscripts of the fourteenth century (especially the large formatted 'Codex Manesse' in parchment with 137 full-page miniatures), which organize the texts in a way that every song is assigned to an author's name.[2] Further, that the texts in the later sources are to be sung to mostly monophonic melodies (two-voice melodies exist but are rare) clearly distinguishes them from the collections of *Tenorlieder* with their norm of three to five voices.

The earliest models for this type of manuscript are some (mostly) anonymous collections of poetry, the most important being the 'Losse-Sammlung' (ca. 1330–1350)[3] and the 'Haager-Liederhandschrift' (shortly before or

      keine Grenzen.' Grenzüberschreitung als Paradigma in Kunst und Wissenschaft: Festschrift für Hartmut Möller zum 60. Geburtstag, Rostocker Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft und Musikpädagogik 3 (Essen: 2013) 75–87.

2 Holznagel F.-J., *Wege in die Schriftlichkeit. Untersuchungen und Materialien zur Überlieferung der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, Bibliotheca Germanica 32 (Tübingen – Basel: 1995).

3 Edition: *Zwölf mittelhochdeutsche Minnelieder und Reimreden. Aus den Sammlungen des Rudolf Losse von Eisenach*, ed. E. E. Stengel – F. Vogt (Cologne – Graz: 1956). Cf.: http://www.handschriftencensus.de/5137 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

after 1400).[4] But it was not until the middle of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries that this type of songbook became clearly distinguishable. The best-known examples in the Upper German area are the 'Lochamer Liederbuch' [Be$_2$] (1451–1453), the 'Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin' [Pr] (probably 1471) and the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' [Be$_4$] that was created at about the same time. In the Low German area, the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' [Ro] (second half of the fifteenth century), the 'Darfelder Liederhandschrift' (1546–1565) [Da] and the 'Berliner niederrheinische Liederhandschrift von 1574' are the most famous.

All through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, markedly similar types of traditions developed. These include:

– miscellaneous manuscripts covering a wide range of topics and forms, for example the 'Sterzinger Miszellaneenhandschrift'[5] or the *literarische Hausbücher* (literary 'housebooks' in which an owner collected a wide range of very different literary items). Examples of the latter are the collections of Valentin Holl, Simprecht Kröll or Ulricht Mostl, which sometimes also include song texts;[6]

– printed broadsheets (*Einblattdrucke*) and chapbooks (*gedruckte Liederheftchen*) including secular songs without music notation that could be merged into a book in the manner of the 'Dürnhofer Liederbuch';[7]

– larger printed collections of anonymous and primarily monophonic songtexts without melodies, such as the 'Ambraser Liederbuch;[8]

– handwritten or printed collections in the tradition of the *Tenorlied*. In this medium, the individual voices of polyphonic songs are written down in

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4 Edition: *Die Haager Liederhandschrift. Faksimile des Originals mit Einleitung und Transkription*, ed. E.F. Kossmann (The Hague: 1940). Cf.: http://www.handschriftencensus .de/4267 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

5 Edition: *Die Sterzinger Miszellaneen-Handschrift. Kommentierte Edition der deutschen Dichtungen*, ed. M. Zimmermann, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 8 (Innsbruck: 1980).—Cf.: http://www.handschriftencensus.de/5791 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

6 Cf.: Meyer D.H., *Literarische Hausbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Sammlungen des Ulrich Mostl, des Valentin Holl und des Simprecht Kröll*, 2 vols., Würzburger Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie 2, 1–2 (Würzburg: 1989).

7 Facsimile: *Jörg Dürnhofers Liederbuch (um 1515). Faksimile des Lieddruck-Sammelbandes Inc. 1446a der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen: Mit Nachwort und Kommentar*, ed. F. Schanze, Fortuna vitrea 11 (Tübingen: 1993).

8 Edition: *Das Ambraser Liederbuch vom Jahre 1582*, ed. J. Bergmann, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 12 (Stuttgart: 1845; reprint, Hildesheim: 1962).

different part books, for example in the handwritten 'Glogauer Liederbuch'[9] or the printed *Gassenhawerlin*;[10]

– lute or organ tablatures[11] which were developed for the combination of song texts and lute music or for the arrangement of monophonic songs into polyphonic organ pieces (e.g. the *Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten* by Sebastian Ochsenkhun[12] or the *Fundamentum organisandi* by Conrad Paumann).[13]

– There is also an obvious distinction to be made between secular and religious songbooks.[14]

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9   *Das Glogauer Liederbuch. Erster Teil: Deutsche Lieder und Spielstücke. Zweiter Teil: Ausgewählte lateinische Sätze*, eds. H. Ringmann – J. Klapper, 2 vols., Das Erbe der deutschen Musik 4, 8 (Kassel: 1936–1937; reprint, Kassel: 1973 in 1 vol.). Cf.: http://www .handschriftencensus.de/24611 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

10   *Gassenhawerlin und Reutterliedlin zu Franckenfurt am Meyn. Bei Christian Egenolf 1535. Faksimileneuausgabe des ältesten Frankfurter deutschen Liederbuch-Druckes als Festgabe der Vierten deutschen Musikfachausstellung zu Frankfurt im Juni bis August 1927*, ed. H.J. Moser (Augsburg – Cologne: 1927).

11   Cf. among others: Grosch N., "Deutsche Tabulaturdrucke: Der Versuch interaktionsfreier musikalischer Kommunikation im 16. Jahrhundert", in: Lodes B. (ed.), *NiveauNischeNimbus: Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 3 (Tutzing: 2010) 135–146; Johnson, C., *Vocal compositions in German organ tablatures 1550–1650. A catalogue and commentary* (New York: 1989).

12   Ochsenkhun Sebastian, *Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten. Von Moteten / Frantzösischen / Welschen vnd Teütschen Geystlichen vnd Weltlichen Liedern / sampt etlichen jren Texten / mir Vieren / Fünffen / vnd Sechs stim[m]en: Faksimile der Ausgabe Heydelberg, Kholen 1558* (Stuttgart: 2001).

13   *Das Locheimer Liederbuch nebst der Ars organisandi von Conrad Paumann*, eds. F.W. Arnold – H. Bellermann, Jahrbücher für Musikalische Wissenschaft 2 (Leipzig: 1876; reprint, Leipzig: 1926); *Locheimer Liederbuch und Fundamentum organisandi des Conrad Paumann*, ed. K. Ameln (Berlin: 1925).

14   A comprehensive study of the religious songbooks remains to be written. In the meantime cf.: Hascher-Burger U., *Gesungene Innigkeit. Studien zur einer Musikhandschrift der Devotio moderna* (*Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 16 H 34, olim B 113*)*: Mit einer Edition der Gesänge*, Studies in the history of Christian thought 106 (Leiden: 2002); Janota J., *Studien zu Funktion und Typus des deutschen geistlichen Liedes im Mittelalter*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 23 (Munich: 1968); Janota J., "Werdener Liederbuch", in Ruh K. – Wachinger B. (eds.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon. Begründet von Wolfgang Stammler, fortgeführt von Karl Langosch*, second ed., 13 vols. (Berlin – New York: 1978–2007), vol. X (1999) 883–886 (with references to other religious songbooks); Tervooren H., *Van der Masen tot op den Rijn. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen volkssprachlichen Literatur im Raum von Rhein und Maas* (Berlin: 2006) esp. 161–175; Theben J., *Die mystische Lyrik des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Untersuchungen—Texte—Repertorium*, Kulturtopographie

In the following discussion of hand-written secular songbooks, these other traditions will not be considered, for they are obviously different. Manuscript miscellanies and *Hausbücher* differ from secular songbooks in their open character that does not show a special interest concerning the genres of the collected texts. Printed collections of anonymous songs such as broadsheets, chapbooks or printed songbooks without musical notation (but sometimes with tune indications) can be seen as successors of the handwritten songbooks, but their existence required the establishment of a new technology, the letterpress printing. This also applies to special cases in which such printed artefacts were put together in one volume. The handwritten and printed collections in the tradition of the Tenorlied and the tablatures, on the other hand, developed in the context of the higher musical culture of the sixteenth century. These forms are partly based on the poetry of the songbooks and their melodies, but they should be regarded as a phenomenon of the reception of this poetic discourse rather than the actual secular songbooks themselves. Finally, religious songbooks can be divided from their secular counterparts in terms of subject-matter, even if some secular songbooks also present a small number of religious texts and, vice versa, religious songbooks sometimes deal with secular topics.

The Registers of the Handwritten Secular Songbook

The texts of the secular songbooks in the German language in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries usually represent several literary genres. There is no such thing as *the* characteristic song of the songbooks. However, neither do the songbooks present an arbitrary selection of late-medieval poetry; a detailed investigation shows that most of the songs can be assigned to five registers, which in this case means that each resister constitutes an identifiable group with similar content:[15]

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des alemannischen Raums 2 (Berlin: 2010); Poel D. van der, "Late-medieval Devout Song: Repertoire, Manuscripts, Function", in Bastert B. (ed.), *Dialog mit den Nachbarn. Mittelniederländische Literatur zwischen dem 12. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 130 (Berlin: 2011) 67–79; Wilbrink G.G. (i.e. Schwester Marie Josepha), *Das geistliche Lied der devotio moderna. Ein Spiegel niederländisch-deutscher Beziehungen*, Disquisitiones Carolinae 2 (Nijmegen: 1930).

15   The term 'register' defines a set of characteristics that is used in certain contexts. Bec P., *La lyrique française au moyen âge. Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux. Études et textes*, 2 vols., Publications du Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale de l'Université de Poitiers 6–7 (Paris 1977–1978) applies the term to the description of medieval french songs by distinguishing different layers of style

Register I   songs of courtly love (and related topics)
Register II   *genres objectifs*:[16] dawn songs / pastourelles / ballads
Register III   *contre textes / erotische Schwanklieder* (bawdy songs)
Register IV   simple songs for dancing or social drinking situations
Register V   didactic or instructional songs

Without a doubt, particularly the late-medieval forms of the courtship song
(register I) and even the *genres objectifs* (register II) lie at the centre of song-
book poetry. These traditional poetic forms are often complemented by three
other registers that differ in character and topic. One (register III) contains
contre textes, meaning the inversion or parody of well-known patterns. These
songs radically push the boundaries of late-medieval literary discourses by
intensely rejecting any sublimation, by radically depicting sexual material or
by playing with disgust. Part of this register consists of bawdy songs. A further
register contains songs for everyday use that are composed for dancing, for
conviviality in groups of young people or for collective drinking (register IV).
These songs are recognizable not only by their content, but also by the simple
structures of their stanzas and their plain formal patterns. Didactic or instruc-
tional songs form a last register that deals with historical or political events or
with topics of secular morality (register V).

The 'Rostocker Liederbuch' and 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' in Comparison

It is characteristic of the poetic discourse displayed in secular songbooks that
very distinct, individual literary collections take shape based on the literary
and musical interests of their patrons and/or owners. This applies already to
the early songbook tradition, as a comparison between the most famous exam-
ples of this tradition, the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' [Be$_4$][17] and the 'Rostocker

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(*registre popularisant* und *registre aristocratisant*). In this article the term differentiates
clusters of genres.

16   'Genre objectif' originally described a genre of medieval French songs that combine lyri-
cal (i.e. non-narrative) with non-lyrical (i.e. narrative) passages. This term was applied
to other European song traditions of the Middle Ages. Cf. Kasten I., "Genre objectif", in
Fricke H. – Müller J.-D. – Weimar K. (eds.), *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft.
Neubearbeitung des Reallexikons der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Berlin – New
York: 2007), vol. 1, 704–707.

17   Edition: *Das Königsteiner Liederbuch. Ms. Germ. qu. 719 Berlin*, ed. P. Sappler, Münchener
Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 29 (Munich: 1970).—
Concerning Be$_4$ cf.: Sappler P., "Königsteiner Liederbuch", in Ruh K. – Wachinger B., *Die
deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon. Begründet von Wolfgang Stammler,*

Liederbuch' [Ro],[18] will show. Despite being compiled at about the same time, 1470/1472 and about 1487 respectively, each of them presents a very different (and almost complementary) literary, musical and linguistic profile.

– One the one hand, there is the Low German[19] 'Rostocker Liederbuch' that probably belonged to the region of the north-east German cities of the

fortgeführt von Karl Langosch, second ed., 13 vols. (Berlin – New York: 1978–2007), vol. V (1985) 108–110; Petzsch C., "Zur Vorgeschichte der Stammbücher: Nachschriften und Namen im Königsteiner Liederbuch", *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 222 (1986) 273–292; Brunner H. – Wachinger B. (eds.), *Repertorium der Sangsprüche und Meisterlieder des 12. bis 18. Jahrhunderts. Bd. 1: Einleitung, Überlieferung* (Tübingen: 1994) 89; Schipke R., "Königsteiner Liederbuch u.a.", in Becker P.J. – Overgaauw E. (eds.), *Aderlass und Seelentrost. Die Überlieferung deutscher Texte im Spiegel Berliner Handschriften und Inkunabeln* (Mainz: 2003) 116–117; Kirnbauer M., "Die frühesten deutschen Quellen für die Lautentabulatur: der Kasseler Lautenkragen (D-Kl, 2° Ms. Math. 31), das 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' (D-BsB, Ms. germ. qu. 719) und das Regensburger Diagramm (D-Rp, Ms. T. 98 4°)", in Young C. – Kirnbauer M. (eds.), *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile—Early Lute Tablatures in Facsimile*, Pratica musicale 6 (Winterthur: 2003) 173–204; http://www.handschriftencensus.de/4499 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

18 Edition: *Das Rostocker Liederbuch. Nach den Fragmenten der Handschrift*, eds. F. Ranke – J.M. Müller-Blattau, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft. Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, 4. Jahr Heft 5 (Halle/Saale: 1927; reprint, Kassel: 1987).— Concerning Ro cf.: Holtorf A., "Rostocker Liederbuch", in Ruh K. – Wachinger B. (eds.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon. Begründet von Wolfgang Stammler, fortgeführt von Karl Langosch*, second ed., 13 vols. (Berlin – New York: 1978–2007), vol. VIII (1992) 253–257; Heller K. – Möller H. – Waczkat A. (eds.), *Musik in Mecklenburg. Beiträge eines Kolloquiums zur mecklenburgischen Musikgeschichte veranstaltet vom Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Rostock, 24.–27. September 1997. Mit einer Zeittafel und einer Auswahlbibliographie zur mecklenburgischen Musikgeschichte*, Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft 21, Musik in Mecklenburg (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: 2000); Heydeck K., *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Rostock. Beschrieben von K.H.*, Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Rostock 1 (Wiesbaden: 2001) 128–132; Holznagel F.-J. – Möller H., "Ein Fall von Interregionalität: Oswalds von Wolkenstein 'Wach auf, mein hort' (Kl 101) in Südtirol und in Norddeutschland", in Tervooren H. – Haustein J. (eds.), *Regionale Literaturgeschichtsschreibung. Aufgaben, Analysen und Perspektiven*, Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 122 (Berlin: 2003) 102–133; Holznagel F.-J., "Das 'Rostocker Liederbuch' und seine neue kritische Edition: Unter Mitarbeit von Andreas Bieberstedt, Udo Kühne und Hartmut Möller", *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 133 (2010) 45–86; http://www.rostocker-liederbuch .de [accessed: 26 September 2015]; http://www.handschriftencensus.de/5618 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

19 In terms of the diatopic distribution, the German idioms of the late Middle Ages can be differentiated into two main categories: 'Low German' is the language of the Northern

Hanseatic League (Rostock? Greifswald?). It is a collection open to contemporary and modern song genres as far as themes and formats are concerned and includes all five registers of songbook poetry. It was only sporadically expanded with other types of texts (for example some sacred songs in Low German or Latin). The manuscript also includes more than thirty melodies that are written down in five different styles of Gothic chorale notation or mensural notation. All in all, the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' points towards a culture of urban-academic entertainment, where not only the typical love-song finds its place but also bawdy songs, poetry for everyday use or the sophisticated Latin motet by an author such as Philippe de Vitry. The manuscript presents itself as a typical 'work in progress' that was compiled by a number of people in the owner's social surroundings. Several writers must have entered texts and melodies over an extended period. In codicological terms the manuscript of the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' is modest: it is a manuscript for everyday use without any ornamentation.

– On the other hand, the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' is a High German (or more precisely: Rhenish Franconian) collection of texts that circulated in aristocratic circles around the counts of Eppstein-Königstein and Württemberg near Frankfurt/Main. This songbook shows the narrow and strictly traditional interest behind the collection, which concentrates on the first register, songs about courtly love; some of the texts were still written in lyric patterns of the thirteenth century (for example in Reinmar von Brennenberg's *Hofton*). It is obvious that a systematic presentation of the music was not envisaged, but four melodies were written down in lute tablatures, showing this manuscript's proximity to practical performance. However, the owners did put greater emphasis on presenting heraldic devices or mottoes of the noble women and men who contributed to the manuscript. It therefore resembles the *Stammbücher* and the *alba amicorum* (not unlike the 'Benckhäuser Liederhandschrift' [Mün₁] or the 'Darfelder Liederhandschrift' [Da]). The 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' has no ornamentation besides heraldic devices and mottoes, but the steady handwriting by a single writer and the simple but accurate page design point to a codicological level that is distinctly above that of the 'Rostocker Liederbuch'.

German territories, 'High German' the idiom of the southern territories, which can itself be divided into a northern ('Middle German') and a southern version ('Upper German')

	'Rostocker Liederbuch'	'Königsteiner Liederbuch'
Dating	Main part: after 1465	1470/1472
Localization	Low German	Upper German
Social origins	University	Nobility
Cultural context	Urban-academic	Courtly-aristocratic
Repertoire	Modern; more recent past	Mainly concentrated on older traditions
Register	All five registers; additional texts	Concentration on the first register
Writing of texts	Three main hands (cursive; bastarda)	One hand (bastarda)
Notation of melodies	Five styles of notation straddling older and newer types	Lute tablature
Codicological standard	Simple manuscript for everyday use of a fairly low codicological standard	Simple manuscript of an average standard

A comparison between fol. 37v from the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' [Fig. 5.1] and fol. 165v from the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' [Fig. 5.2] will illustrate the differences between these two sources of transmission:

– The page from the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' displays two songs. The first is a text in Low German that represents the simple poetry for common use of the fourth register (no. 50: "Nu wol hen, lat ruschen", "Let us go and make sweeping sounds [with a sickel]")—the oldest version of the well-known renunciation song (*Absagelied*) "La rauschen, Sichele / La rauschen, Lieb", "Let it sweep, sickel / Let it sweep, my love".[20] The text is written down in a simple cursive, the melody in a black mensural notation. It is noteworthy that only the first stanza of the text is presented. This points to coexistence of the oral transmission of the text and the written fixation of the melody

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20   *Deutscher Liederhort. Auswahl der vorzüglicheren deutschen Volkslieder, nach Wort und Weise aus der Vorzeit und Gegenwart. Ges. und erl. von Ludwig Erk. Nach Erk's handschriftlichem Nachlasse und auf Grund eigener Sammlung neubearbeitet und fortgesetzt von Franz M. Böhme,* Erk L. – Böhme F.M. (eds.), 3 vols. (Leipzig: 1893–94; reprint, Hildesheim: 1983) no. 678a and 678b.
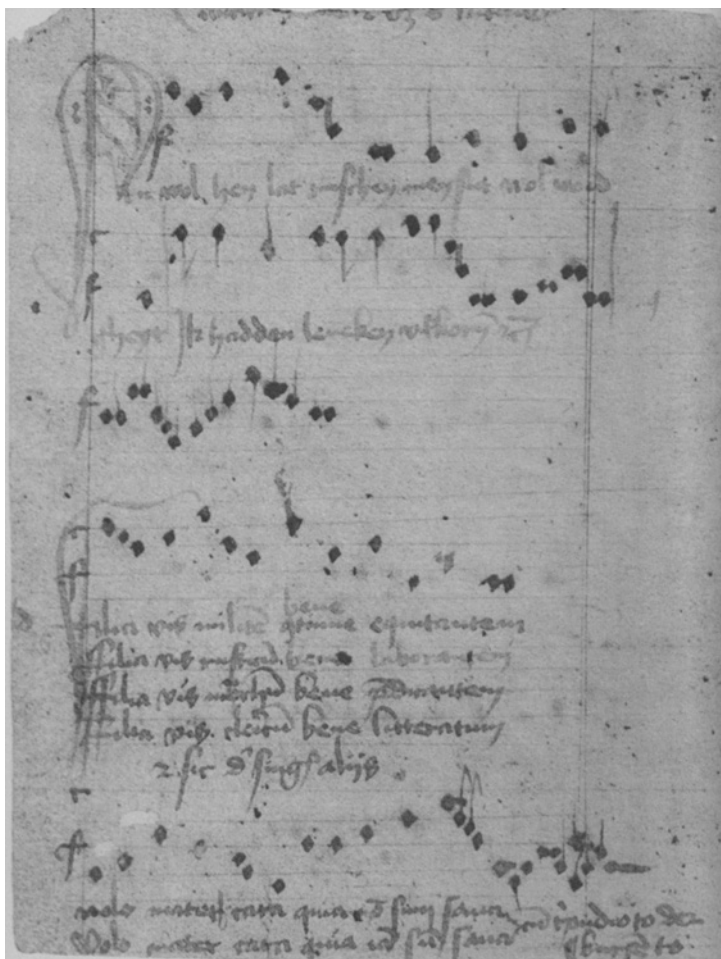
FIGURE 5.1 *'Rostocker Liederbuch'. Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Mss. philol.*
100/2, fol. 37v.
IMAGE © UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK ROSTOCK.

(as in other lyric texts for everyday use in the 'Rostocker Liederbuch'). The
second song (no. 51: "Filia vis militem?", "Daughter do you want a knight?")
was entered by the same hand and belongs to the same register but is in
Latin. In a fictitious dialogue a mother and a daughter discuss the ques-
tion of who would be the appropriate lover for the young woman, and of
course the *filia* chooses the writer, the *clericum bene literatum*, as is typical
for Latinate culture. The text is accompanied by a melody in mixed notation
that combines black mensural characters with the rhythmically undefined

FIGURE 5.2 *'Königsteiner Liederbuch'. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer
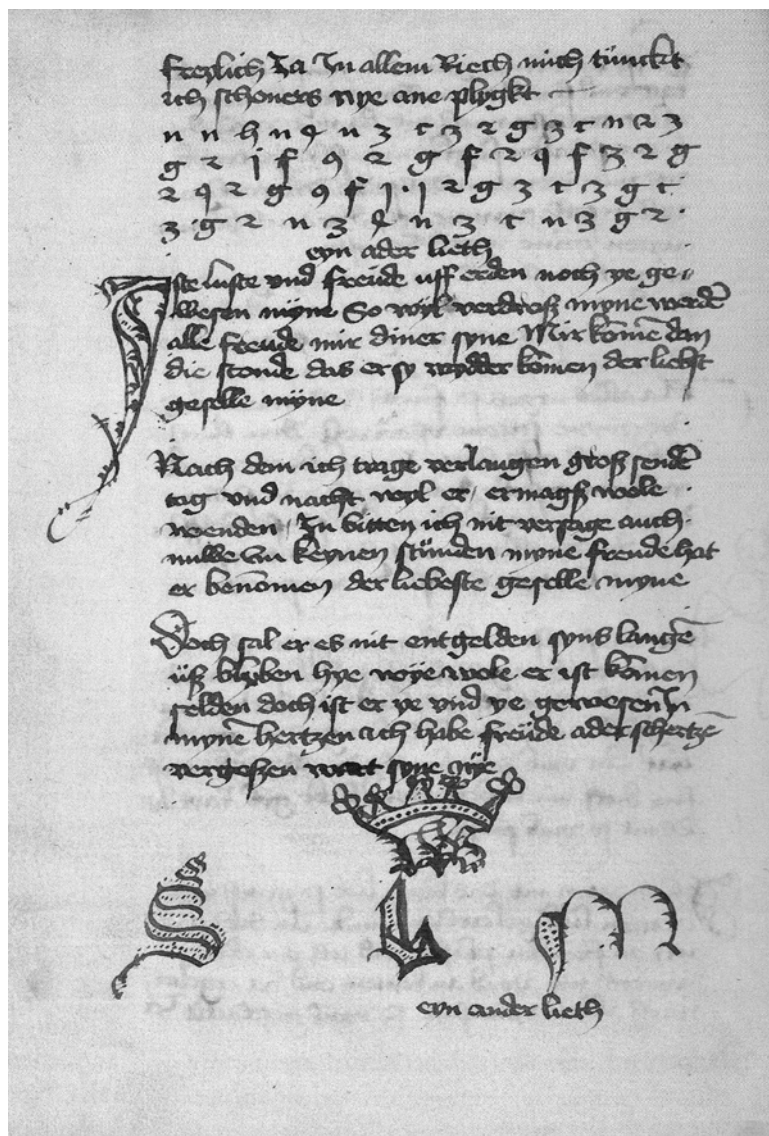Kulturbesitz, Mgq 719, fol. 165v.*
IMAGE © STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PREUßISCHER KULTURBESITZ
BERLIN.

neumatic notation known as horseshoe nail notation. A unique characteristic of this text is the instructive bilingual paratext *cum tripudio to der bursen to*. It leads to two conclusions: the song was sung at a dance in a triple metre (*cum tripudio*), and its mention of the *Bursen*—i.e. the residential homes of the students—evokes the position of the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' in an academic surrounding.[21] Fol. 37v therefore represents the songbook's typical mixture of Low German and Latin texts and also the manuscript's characteristic preference for combining different music notation styles. Furthermore, the origins of the songs are indicated—the use of no. 51 as a dance song, for example. Finally, the professional but not particularly ambitious page layout deserves attention.

– Fol. 165v from the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' in comparison presents a song (no. 135) that is to be situated at the end of the High German courtly tradition ("An alles arg so suech ich gnad", "Without any deceitfulness I beg for mercy"). It was written down in the accurate bastarda (a typical script of the fourteenth and fifteenth century that is much more representative than the simple cursives of the 'Rostocker Liederbuch'), entered by only one hand and combined with the melody in a lute tablature. Below, under the heading 'eyn a(n)der lieth' ('another song'), is a woman's monologue "Ist lust und freud uff erden" (no. 136), in which a courtly woman longs for her lover's return.[22] Therefore, on this page, two typical genres of the first register are combined, and the presentation of the songs is complemented by the lute tablature and, especially, the paratexts: there is a 'W' and a crown with five points, accompanied by the letters 'S–L–M'. This is probably a reference to the person who contributed the song to the manuscript, although his or her identity cannot be determined. As the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' developed over an extended period with several hands contributing texts and melodies, its collective character is obvious. That the contribution of songs and melodies to the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' was similarly made by different people over what may have been a fairly long period of time is harder to verify, for we have only one hand. The process, however, is apparent in the paratexts which include e.g. mottoes, heraldic devices or monograms. In its combination of a specific text genre (High German, relatively conventional

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21   The wider transmission of this text also points towards an academic context: Lübeck, StB: Ms. hist. 8° 1a (old shelfmark: Cod. 152), fol. 242v; Trebon (Wittingau), Archiv: A. 4, fol. 408v. (I would like to thank Udo Kühne, Kiel, for his friendly advice.)

22   Unlike the texts of the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' mentioned above, which seem to be widespread, these two songs from the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' are known only from this single manuscript.

courtly poetry) and the elegant way in which it is written down (accurate script, ornamented monograms as paratexts) fol. 165v differs considerably from the page layout and the content presented on the comparison page of the 'Rostocker Liederbuch'. Thus, this page is a typical example of the prestigious and past-oriented character of the corpus collected in the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch', a manuscript one can hardly imagine being used for a dance on the way to scholars' homes. The paratext further connects the songbook to the aristocratic surroundings in which the songs were collected, even though it is impossible to clearly define this link in the present case.

Songs and Identities

Songbooks Representing Identities and Functioning as Dispositifs[23]

The comparison between the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' and the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' has indicated the connection between songs and identities in the medium of the handwritten secular songbook. It has become clear that manuscripts can represent identities by revealing the owners' literary and musical interests in terms of materiality and content. These interests are presented through the page layout, and especially in the selection and musical notation of the texts and melodies as well as in the usage of the five registers. The paratexts further indicate the basic conditions of performance, for heraldic devices or mottoes point towards the social status of the contributors and the social networks to which they belong.

Furthermore, it must be emphasized that the communities which share the same values and cultural backgrounds are themselves shaped by the handwritten songbooks; this goes hand-in-hand with the special formation-processes of songbooks like the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' and the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch'. Their stock of songs and melodies was constructed bit by bit when people

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23   Cf. M. Foucault, who introduced the notion of a historical *dispositif* as a 'large surface network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation of specialized knowledge, the strengthening of controls and resistances are linked together according to a few grand strategies of knowledge and power', Foucault M., *The Will to Knowledge. The History of Sexuality 1* (London: 1998) 106–107. This article takes up this definition of *dispositif* but uses it in a more etymological way: Lat. *dispono* means 'to organize', therefore a *dispositif* can be defined as something that enables or causes order. As will be shown, handwritten secular songbooks function as *dispositifs* in a way that their combination of certain aspects of materiality and specific contents enable the construction of social identities.

who were related to the owner of the manuscript, or connected to him or her socially, politically or economically, contributed a text or a few songs.

This can be seen in the paratexts of the 'Rostocker Liederbuch'. The Latin-German paratext for song no. 15 ("Der werlt der hat enen dummen mod", "The world is fickle-minded")[24] mentions a 'Johannes' who remembers his beloved 'Elisabeth', and states that he contributed the previous song: 'Cara Johannes et leue truten / Johannes dedit praescriptum canticum / Elisabeth nuncupata', 'John and his Beloved, named "Precious Elizabeth": John contributed (*dedit*) the song above'. Likewise, a 'Dominus et Magister Andreas de Prutzia' is referred to as the contributor of song no. 9 ("Almechtigher got here ihesu crist", "Mighty God, my Lord Jesus Christ")[25] and a 'Steffanus frater' as the contributor of the double no. 16/17 ("In nemore viridi", "In a green forest" / "De jungelin sprak: 'schon juncfrouw fyn'", "The young man says: 'My lovely young lady'").[26] Presumably, these identifiable contributors (Johannes, Andreas and Steffanus) are not identical with the writer of the paratexts who also entered most of the songs in the manuscript (Hand 1). Therefore, one has to assume that at least four people contributed to the manuscript. But apparently there were more: two passages (songs 10 and 19–21) differ so greatly in their style of script that they can be clearly identified as insertions by two different hands (Hand 2, Hand 3). If we assume that the scribes who can be distinguished by their script are not identical to one of those mentioned by name, we can assume there were at least two more contributors who remained anonymous. These insertions contribute to the variety of texts and melodies in the 'Rostocker

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24   The song mentioned here is the well-known bawdy song about the sly peasant. Cf.: Brednich R.W., "Der kluge Bauer", in Ruh K. – Wachinger B. (eds.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon. Begründet von Wolfgang Stammler, fortgeführt von Karl Langosch*, second ed., 13 vols. (Berlin – New York: 1978–2007), vol. IV (1983) 1263–1264 and Holznagel F.-J., "Zirkulationen: Zur Wirkungsgeschichte eines spätmittelalterlichen Schwankliedes (unter Mitarbeit von Hartmut Möller, Annika Bostelmann und Doreen Brandt)", in Bentzinger R. – Oppitz U.-D. – Wolf J. (eds.), *Grundlagen. Forschungen, Editionen und Materialien zur deutschen Literatur und Sprache des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beiheft 18 (Stuttgart: 2013) 417–438.

25   No. 9 from the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' is a Low German version of the "Tischsegen" by the Monk of Salzburg: *Die geistlichen Lieder des Mönchs von Salzburg*, ed. F.V. Spechtler, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker NF. 51 [175] (Berlin – New York: 1972) no. 42.

26   This double from the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' combines a pastourelle in medieval Latin with a Low German courtship song in the same metrical pattern.

Liederbuch', indicating that there is a close connection between the typological diversity of the texts and the existence of a four to six contributors.

The following list illustrates the fact that all of the eight contributions represent different genres of literary traditions that rarely appear elsewhere in the manuscript.

No.	Contributor / Scribe	Text genre	Other representations of these genres in the 'Rostocker Liederbuch'
9	Andreas de Prutzia Hand 1	Upper German sacred song with Low German colouring (the Monk of Salzburg's "Tischsegen")	One other Low German sacred song (RLB 6) and three Latin *Cantiones* about the Blessed Virgin Mary (RLB 40–42)
10	Anonymous Hand 2	Low German women's monologue	No other examples
15	Johannes Hand 1	Upper German bawdy song with Low German colouring	Five other examples (RLB 24, 26, 33, 36, 49)
16	Steffanus Hand 1	Latin pastourelle	No other examples
17	Steffanus Hand 1	Low German courtship song	Four other examples (RLB 18, 35, 44, 52)
19	Anonymous Hand 3	Upper German dawn song with slight Low German colouring (Oswald von Wolkenstein, Kl 101)	One Low German dawn song (special case of RLB 34)
20	Anonymous Hand 3	Upper German courtship song with slight Low German colouring	Nine other examples (RLB 1/38a, 7–8, 14, 20, 22, 45, 46, 53)
21	Anonymous Hand 3	High German *Malmariée*-song with slight Low German colouring	No other examples

The 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' seems to give a different impression, as it was written by only one hand and lacks paratexts that name the contributors. But if we take into consideration what can be said about the source for the songbook, the picture is not so different from the 'Rostocker Liederbuch': if we assume that the scribe did not simply invent the heraldic devices and mottoes in the

manuscript himself, the number of contributors seems to be even larger than that of the 'Rostocker Liederbuch'.

As far as the connection between songs and identities is concerned, these observations on the process of the songbooks' development indicate that the codices do not only represent identities by standing in metonymic relation to an owner whose social position as well as literary and musical taste is reflected by them. Rather, they often establish a group identity which is centred on the owner of the manuscript. This group not only shares common values that are based on, intensified and affirmed through social contact, but is in fact also established through the process of collective song-compilation.

The 'Darfelder Liederhandschrift' [Da] illustrates this process:[27] the entry on the cover states that this songbook was begun in 1540. Initially, the manuscript contained thirty-eight images of heraldic devices and some blank pages. In this way, expansion of the manuscript was taken into account from the beginning, and its first owner—Katharina of Bronchorst—started to add a song collection in 1546. Katharina wrote down a number of songs herself (nineteen of them stand together, nos. 22–40, and also no. 16). Furthermore, she asked visitors, friends and relatives to extend the collection through their own song contributions until the manuscript included 106 texts in 55 hands (including Katharina's); 43 of the contributors give their names (or at least their initials), over half of the texts are dated and many of the songs are accompanied by German, Dutch or French aphorisms or mottoes. In this way, the 'Darfelder Liederhandschrift' displays an impressive network of personal relations that

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27   Edition: *Die Darfelder Liederhandschrift 1546–1565. Unter Verwendung der Vorarbeiten von Arthur Hübner und Ada-Elise Beckmann*, ed. R.W. Brednich, Schriften der Volkskundlichen Kommission für Westfalen 23 (Münster: 1976).—Concerning Da cf. among others: Grosch N., "Populäre Musik als kulturelles Gedächtnis und als Archiv: Zu den Chancen eines Paradoxons", in Pfleiderer M. (ed.), *Populäre Musik und kulturelles Gedächtnis: Geschichtsschreibung—Archiv—Internet* (Cologne: 2011) 83–94; Koldau L.M., *Frauen—Musik—Kultur. Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: 2005) 435–438; Strijbosch C., "Hinter dem schwarzen Loch: Das weltliche Lied des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Bastert B. (ed.), *Dialog mit den Nachbarn. Mittelniederländische Literatur zwischen dem 12. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 130 (Berlin: 2011) 81–93; Tervooren H., "Buch und Literatur als Medium adeliger Repräsentation und Geselligkeit im Raum von Rhein, Maas und IJssel im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert", in Bein T. (ed.),*'mit cleboworten underweben'. Festschrift für Peter Kern zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt/Main: 2007) 53–64; Tervooren H., "Hybride Formen des Tageliedes in der nordwestlichen Germania des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Schausten M. (ed.), *Das lange Mittelalter. Imagination—Transformation—Analyse. Ein Buch für Jürgen Kühnel*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 763 (Göppingen: 2011) 29–45.

had its centre in the Lower Rhine region in the Duchy of Jülich, Cleves and Berg but also included aristocrats from Westphalia, southern Germany and (after the marriage between Katharina and Balthasar of Brederode) the Low Countries north of the river Rhine.[28]

Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, Helmut Tervooren and Clara Strijbosch[29] coined the term 'Liederstammbuch' for this kind of collective work because it resembles contemporary *Stammbücher* and *alba amicorum*.[30] The source for the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' was very close to this type of manuscript,[31] and also the monograms in the 'Bechsteinschen Handschrift' [Lei] and its copy by Martin Ebenreutter [Be$_5$] show that their common predecessor, the song collection X, upon which also the 'Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin' [Pr] is based, must have had traits like a *Stammbuch*. This type of collection clearly emerges in the handwritten secular songbooks of the sixteenth century: the most important representatives of this medium are the 'Darfelder Liederhandschrift' [Da], the 'Liederbuch der Katharina von Hatzfeld' [Be$_6$], the 'Benckhäuser Liederbuch der Anna Lüning' [Mün$_1$], the 'Liederbuch des Grafen Hans Gerhard von Manderscheid' [Be$_{10}$] and the 'Liederbuch der Anna von Kerkerinck' [Mün$_2$], better known as 'Mones Handschrift'. A special case is

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28 Concerning the social networks in the Lower Rhine region cf. in general: Driel M. van – Pohl M. – Walter B. (eds.), *Adel verbindet—Adel verbindt. Elitenbildung und Standeskultur in Nordwestdeutschland und den Niederlanden vom 15. bis 20. Jahrhundert. Elitevorming en standscultuur in Noordwest-Duitsland en de Nederlanden van de 15^e tot de 20^e eeuw*, Forschungen zur Regionalgeschichte 64 (Paderborn: 2010).

29 *Die Darfelder Liederhandschrift 1546–1565* 19, Tervooren, *Van der Masen tot op den Rijn* 150, Strijbosch, "Hinter dem schwarzen Loch" 86.

30 On the tradition of the *Stammbücher* cf. for the German situation the following in particular: Klose W. (ed.), *Corpus alborum amicorum—CAAC—. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Hiersemanns bibliographische Handbücher 8 (Stuttgart: 1988); Klose W. (ed.), *Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 42 (Wiesbaden: 1989). For the Netherlands cf. among others: Thomassen K. (ed.), *Alba amicorum. Vijf eeuwen vriendschap op papier gezet. Het album amicorum en het poëziealbum in de Nederlanden* (The Hague: 1990).—For the case of the German and Dutch *alba amicorum* written by women cf.: Delen M.-A., "Frauenalben als Quelle. Frauen und Adelskultur im 16. Jahrhundert", in Klose W. (ed.), *Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 42 (Wiesbaden: 1989) 75–93; Delen M.-A., "Vrouwenalba in de zestiende en vroege zeventiende eeuw", in Thomassen, *Alba amicorum* 129–139; Strijbosch C., "Sage mir, mit wem du umgehst . . .: Sammelprinzipien in Liederhandschriften des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts", *Neophilologus* 90 (2006) 401–421; Strijbosch, "Hinter dem schwarzen Loch". Also cf. the articles of Sophie Reinders and Clara Strijbosch in this volume.

31 Cf.: Petzsch, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Stammbücher".

the 'Berliner niederrheinische Liederhandschrift von 1574' [Be₈] that combines a song collection with a real *Stammbuch*.

In all these cases, one must assume that the song collections not only required multi-rooted networks of personal relations, but also that these networks themselves are illustrated through the songbooks. This is combined with a conspicuous shift in the contributors' self-representation, because the members of this communication community (*Kommunikationsgemeinschaft*) were connected not only by friendship, kinship or political alliances but also through their knowledge of and passion for poetry. Only insofar as the continuation of the *fin' amors* could still be recognized as an expression of an aristocratic lifestyle do these entries gain a special social significance. Nevertheless, a well-known entry by the duchess Anna Amalia of Jülich-Cleves-Berg in the 'Liederbuch der Katharina von Hatzfeld' [Be6][32] shows that participation in such song collections involved more than a preference for a special literary and musical tradition. Katharina of Hatzfeld was married to Werner of Hofsteden, who was *Hofmeister* (Master of the Household) at the court of Anna Amalia in Düsseldorf from 1532 to 1558. If, then, a song in the collection was entered by the duchess herself and combined with a dedication in her own hand, it expresses not only a shared literary interest but also proves her ducal goodwill.

The aristocratic *Liederstammbücher* clearly indicate that the handwritten secular songbooks can function as *dispositifs* for identities. At this point it should at least be briefly indicated that this also applies to collections that developed in an urban environment. The example of the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' showed how a manuscript could function as a focal point for a group of academic collectors. A later example is the 'Berliner niederrheinische Liederhandschrift von 1574' [Be₈] that probably also originated in a scholarly environment, as the numerous insertions from Latin love poetry (e.g. texts from Tibullus, Propertius or Ovid) suggest.[33] In another example, the

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32   This is no. 27, which is to be found only in this manuscript ("Betrübt ist mir hertz, moydt vnd syn"), written down on fol. 24v: http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/dms/wer kansicht/?PPN=PPN647422247&PHYSID=PHYS_0050. Cf.: Bolte J., "Das Liederbuch der Herzogin Amalia von Cleve", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 22 (1890) 397–426, here: 405 and 420–421.—Concerning Katharina of Hatzfeld cf. among others: Koldau, *Frauen—Musik—Kultur* 439–440; Tervooren, *Van der Masen tot op den Rijn* 148–149; Schumacher K., "Das sogenannte Liederbuch der Herzogin Amalia von Cleve-Jülich-Berg", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 45 (1913) 493–495.—http://www.handschriften census.de/9125 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

33   Cf. Kopp A., "Die niederrheinische Liederhandschrift", *Euphorion* 8 (1901) 499–528; *Euphorion* 9 (1902) 21–42, 280–310, 621–637; Tervooren, *Van der Masen tot op den Rijn* 152–154.—http://www.handschriftencensus.de/24762 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

'Lochamer Liederbuch' [Be$_2$] points towards a circle of collectors that seems to have established itself around the Nuremberg organist Conrad Paumann. And the first owner, and commissioner, of the 'Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin' [Pr], the Augsburg merchant Jörg Roggenburg, was closely connected to the patrician families of Meuting and Fugger through kinship and economic relations. With his songbook, he defined himself as a person who could culturally keep up with the urban aristocratic elites. Again, the songbook does not only imply social connections but probably plays a role in establishing them.[34] A very special attempt to create social connections is represented in the songbook compiled in 1592 by the Strasbourg citizen Caspar Schröpfer as a present for Ottilia Fenchlerin, whom he was courting [Ka].[35] My last example is the 'Oxforder Liederbuch' [Ox], which was created in the Jewish community in Worms.[36] It was written down by Eisik Wallich, the head of the community, shortly after 1600 in Ashkenazic cursive. In its mixture of Yiddish passages (a Jonah play and several songs that were sung at Jewish festivals) and well-known secular songs in High German, it expresses the identity of a Jewish community that defines itself on the one hand through its religion and culture but on the other hand participates in the regional musical tradition of the time.

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34 Cf.: Knor I., *Das Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin als Dokument urbaner Kultur im ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert. Philologische Untersuchung zum Textbestand in den Handschriften Prag Nationalmuseum, X A 12, der Bechsteinschen Handschrift (Halle/S. 14 A39) und Streuüberlieferung*, Schriften zum Bibliotheks- und Büchereiwesen in Sachsen-Anhalt 90 (Halle/Saale: 2008); Wachinger B., "Liebe und Literatur im spätmittelalterlichen Schwaben und Franken: Zur Augsburger Sammelhandschrift der Clara Hätzlerin", *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 56 (1982) 386–406; also in: Wachinger B., *Lieder und Liederbücher. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik* (Berlin – New York: 2011) 396–415 (with an addendum concerning the latest research).—http://www.handschriftencensus.de/3722 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

35 Birlinger A., "Strassburgisches Liederbuch 1592", *Alemannia* 1 (1873) 1–59; Kopp A., "Die Straßburgische Liederhandschrift vom Jahre 1592", *Alemannia* 44 (1917) 65–93; Koldau, *Frauen—Musik—Kultur* 440–441.—http://www.handschriftencensus.de/10562 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

36 Rosenberg F., *Ueber eine Sammlung deutscher Volks- und Gesellschaftslieder in hebräischen Lettern*, Diss. (Berlin: 1888); Rosenberg F., "Ueber eine Sammlung von Volks- und Gesellschaftslieder in hebräischen Lettern", *Zeitschrift über die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 2 (1888) 232–296; 3 (1889) 14–28; Butzer E. – Hüttenmeister N. – Treue W., "'Ich will euch sagen von einem bösen Stück…': Ein jiddisches Lied über sexuelle Vergehen und deren Bestrafung aus dem frühen 17. Jahrhundert", *Aschkenas* 15 (2005) 25–53;—http://www.handschriftencensus.de/7960 [accessed: 26 September 2015].

Handwritten Songbooks as an Alternative Model to Printed Literary Communication

Initially the handwritten secular songbook was a medium that followed the particular interests of its users but was also integrated into the scriptographic world of the fifteenth century insofar as it shared external features, such as the choice of paper as material or the usage of bastardas and cursives, with other manuscripts for everyday use. Therefore, while the tradition of the songbook can be clearly distinguished, it is at the same time comparatively unremarkable in the manuscript culture of the fifteenth century. The situation changes around 1510 when (after the broadsheets and chapbooks) the first substantial printed songbooks by Erhart Oeglin and Arnt von Aich appear and the tradition of secular songs starts (and rapidly continues) to circulate through typographic media: against the background of the several printed media that include songs, the handwritten songbook comes to be appreciated as a very distinct medium that is separated from the standard form of communication.[37]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the transmission of German secular song thus starts to develop into two separate kinds of literary communication that overlap on various occasions. Even if they are somehow connected, they have different communicative functionalities cultivating different media. One of the most important developments applies to the homogenization of printing formats, whose material parameters such as page size (mostly octavo, more seldom quarto) or the design of the font depended on the mechanical

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37   Concerning this change of medium cf. among others: Boockmann H. (ed.), *Literatur, Musik und Kunst im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 1989 bis 1992*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3 (Göttingen: 1995); Bruns K., *Das deutsche weltliche Lied von Lasso bis Schein*, Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikforschung 10 (Kassel: 2008); Caspari R., *Liedtradition im Stilwandel um 1600. Das Nachleben des deutschen Tenorliedes in den gedruckten Liedersammlungen von Le Maistre (1566) bis Schein (1626)*, Schriften zur Musik 13 (Munich: 1971); Classen A. – Fischer M. – Grosch N. (eds.), *Kultur- und kommunikationshistorischer Wandel des Liedes im 16. Jahrhundert*, Populäre Kultur und Musik 3 (Münster: 2012); Lodes B. (ed.), *NiveauNischeNimbus*: *Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 3 (Tutzing: 2010); Mertens V., "Das mittelalterliche Lied zwischen Handschrift und Druck", in Wiesinger P. (ed.), *Akten des x. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Wien 2000, Zeitenwende—Die Germanistik auf dem Weg vom 20. ins 21. Jahrhundert. Bd. 5. Mediävistik und Kulturwissenschaften*, Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik A 57 (Berne: 2002) 115–123; Zywietz M. – Honemann V. – Bettels C. (eds.), *Gattungen und Formen des europäischen Liedes vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Internationale Tagung vom 9. bis 12. Dezember 2001 in Münster*, Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit 8 (Münster – New York: 2005).

equipment of the printing press and the available printing types. Above all, one has to consider the elaborate apparatus of paratexts that were meant to help place the print products on the market.[38] This apparatus includes a title set in graduated font sizes that gives the following text its name and more importantly advertises the text by pointing out its up-to-dateness and its special qualities. The title can be accompanied by other elements like a woodcut or information about the printer or the place and time of printing at the beginning or the end of the print.

There is, for example, a chapbook in octavo that was printed in Erfurt in 1529 by Matthes Maler [Fig. 5.3].[39] Its title, wisely chosen in terms of marketing, emphasizes the number and aesthetics of the following songs ('Schoner Lyeder zcwey, "Two beautiful songs"') with printed gothic script on a high palaeographic level (textura) and gives the names of the songs in a smaller type (textualis) ('Das Erst / Wolauff yr guthen gesellen | die búler woellen seyn / Das Ander / Von eynem | stoltzen meydleyn', 'The first: Come on you good companions that want to be paramours. The other: Of a proud girl'). Moreover, the tune of the second song is given with a reference to two well-known melodies ('Jn dem thon / Die welt | die hat einn thummen mut / Odder / | Es fur ein Pawer yns holtz', 'Tone: The world is fickle-minded or A peasant drove into the woods'). The year of printing follows in a somewhat bigger size ('M. D. xxix'). As an eye-catcher, there is a woodcut under the title that shows two couples in a conversation of courtly love. This picture probably refers to the 'búler' in the first song or to the 'meydleyn' that is 'stoltz' (but sells her affection for money) that appears in the second song. At the end of the chapbook there is the

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38   Cf. among others: Moisi S., "Überlegungen zur kommunikativen Bedeutung von Paratexten in den Liedflugschriften der Reformationszeit (1517–1555)", in Classen A. – Fischer M. – Grosch N. (eds.), *Kultur- und kommunikationshistorischer Wandel des Liedes im 16. Jahrhundert*, Populäre Kultur und Musik 3 (Münster: 2012) 169–186.

39   *Schoner Lyeder zcwey / | Das Erst / Wolauff yr guthen gesellen | die búler woellen seyn / Das Ander / Von eynem | stoltzen meydleyn / Jn dem thon / Die welt | die hat einn thummen mut / Odder / | Es fur ein Pawer yns holtz. | M. D. XXIX.* (Matthes Maler) [without original page numbering / foliation]; copy used: Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek: 125 30.5.20.(27). Edition: *Bragur*, Bd. 6. 2. Abteilung (1800) 79; reprint in: *Altdeutsches Liederbuch. Volkslieder der Deutschen nach Wort und Weise aus dem 12. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. F.M. Böhme (ed.), 2 vols. (Leipzig: 1877) no. 201 and *Deutscher Liederhort. Auswahl der vorzüglicheren deutschen Volkslieder, nach Wort und Weise aus der Vorzeit und Gegenwart. Ges. und erl. von Ludwig Erk. Nach Erk's handschriftlichem Nachlasse und auf Grund eigener Sammlung neubearbeitet und fortgesetzt von Franz M. Böhme*, ed. L. Erk L. – F.M. Böhme (eds.), 3 vols. (Leipzig: 1893–94; reprint, Hildesheim: 1983) no. 839.

FIGURE 5.3   Schoner Lyeder zcwey / | Das Erst / Wolauff yr guthen
              gesellen | die búler woellen seyn / Das Ander / Von eynem
              | stoltzen meydleyn / Jn dem thon / Die welt | die hat einn
              thummen mut / Odder / | Es fur ein Pawer yns holtz. |
              M. D. XXIX. (*Matthes Maler*) *without original page*
              numbering or foliation. Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, 125
              30.5.20.(*27*).
              IMAGE © RATSSCHULBIBLIOTHEK ZWICKAU.

emblem of Matthes Maler (three twigs entwined with thorns) and informa-
tion about the place of printing ('Gedruckt zu Erffordt zum Schwarzen Dorn').

   None of this is to be found in the handwritten songbooks for an obvious rea-
son: their medium is not produced for a commercial market. On the contrary,

it is created for a literary communication that is driven by individual, private or at best group-specific needs and intentions. That is why secular handwritten songbooks can do without the standardized paratexts common to printed songbooks, even when handwritten songbooks can be traced back to printed sources. Instead, a whole new set of possibilities and strategies for individualization are developed to integrate the handwritten songbook into the environment of its owners and users.

These strategies can be illustrated with a page from the 'Darfelder Liederhandschrift' (fol. 24r) [Fig. 5.4].[40] The entry is written by Katharina of Bronchorst; it starts with an abbreviated motto that can no longer be decoded. The abbreviation was obviously intended only for communication within a community of those in the know and therefore forms a contrast with the title of a printed chapbook aimed at a wider public. The abbreviation is followed by a song that was well known in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (no. 16: "Myr ys eyn fyns bruns medekyngh / gevallen yn mynnen syn", "A little brown-haired young girl is coming into my mind").[41] It cannot be verified whether the writer took the text from an oral tradition or from a handwritten or printed source; however, many details suggest that Katharina used a version that had been reshaped and formally polished for printing. This is all the more striking as the text does not show the linguistic normalizations which are characteristic of the printing tradition. The text is in fact presented in the typical written language of the Lower Rhine region that can be identified from the fourteenth century on and for which Helmut Tervooren coined the term "Meuse-Rhenish".

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40   Also cf.: *Die Darfelder Liederhandschrift 1546–1565* 204–205; and Grosch, "Populäre Musik als kulturelles Gedächtnis" 88.

41   The text can be found in five manuscripts of the handwritten secular songbooks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Be$_8$ no. 2; Be$_9$ no. 43; Be$_{10}$ no. 57; Da no. 16; Hei no. 168. There are also sporadic records of the text in other types of manuscripts: the 'Ebsdorfer Liederhandschrift' (Ebsdorf, Klosterbibliothek: Hs. VI 17, single page in the annex) and the destroyed manuscript Münster, UB: Ms. 331 (cf.: Nordhoff J.B., "Altwestfälische Dichtungen", *Germania* 18 (1873) 281–301, here: 295). In the sixteenth century, the text is widespread in print (e.g. in Georg Forsters *Frischen Teutschen Liedlein* and in the 'Ambraser Liederbuch'). Concerning the printed tradition of the song cf. among others: *Die Darfelder Liederhandschrift 1546–1565* 204–205; *Georg Forsters Frische Teutsche Liedlein in fünf Teilen. Abdruck nach den ersten Ausg. 1539, 1540, 1549, 1556 mit den Abweichungen der späteren Drucke*, ed. M.E. Marriage, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts 203–206 (Halle/Saale: 1903) 253; Holzapfel O., *Liedverzeichnis. Die ältere deutschsprachige, populäre Liedüberlieferung* (*in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Volksmusikarchiv des Bezirks Oberbayern, Bruckmühl*) (Hildesheim: 2006), vol. II, 1070–1071.
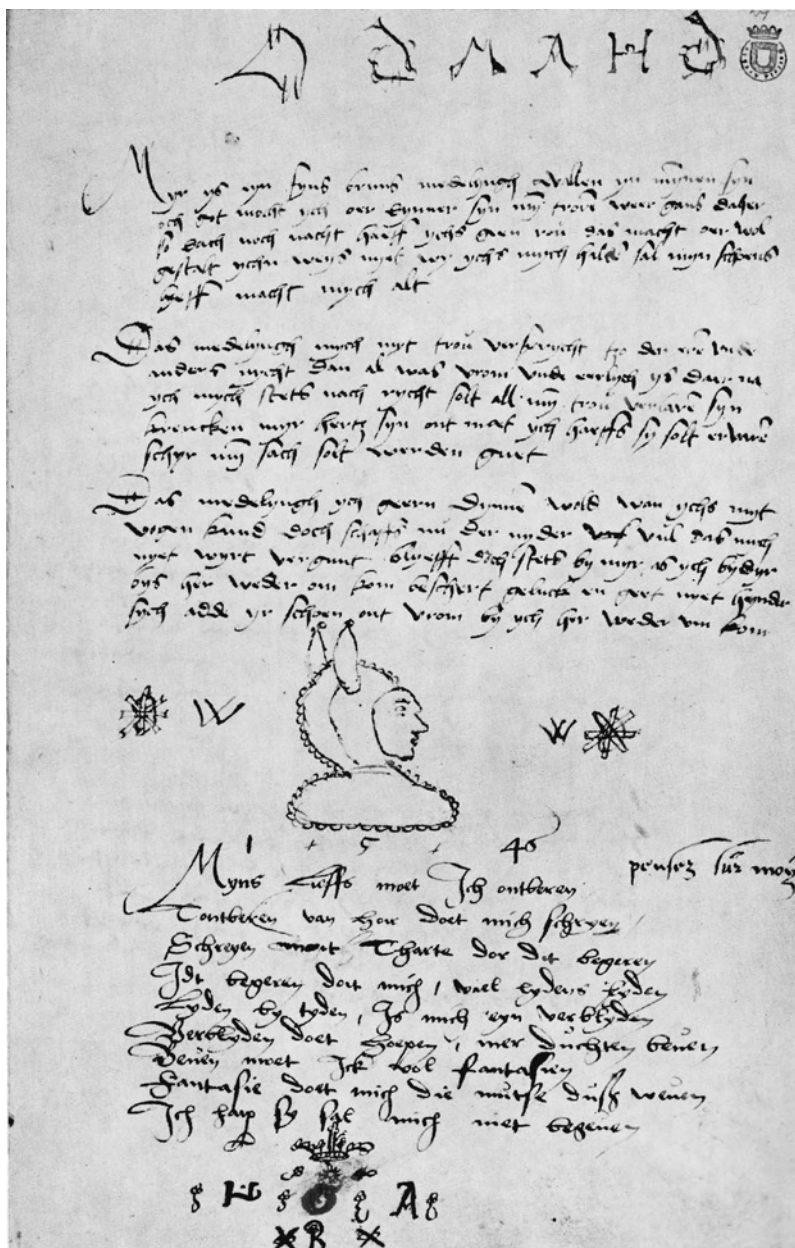
FIGURE 5.4 *Schloss Darfeld* (*Westfalen*), *Gräflich Droste-Vischeringsches Archiv: Archiv der Domherren Droste, C. Handschriften, 1, fol. 24r.* Die Darfelder Liederhandschrift 1546–1565. Unter Verwendung der Vorarbeiten von Arthur Hübner und Ada-Elise Beckmann, *ed. R.W. Brednich, Schriften der Volkskundlichen Kommission für Westfalen 23* (*Münster: 1976*) *fig. 5.*
IMAGE © VOLKSKUNDLICHE KOMMISSION FÜR WESTFALEN.

The song is rounded off with another motto that is well known and therefore can be decoded easily: 'W G W', 'Wie Gott will' ('As God Will'). Inventively, Katharina reshaped the 'G' into a jester's head. The 'G' could stand for the Middle High German/Early Modern German word *gouch* ('fool') and may refer to the self-presentation of the first-person narrator in song no. 16 who admits in the second stanza that his 'hertz, syn ent moyt' ('heart, senses and attitude') would be aggrieved if his consistent courting were unsuccessful. Below the text, Katharina wrote down the date (1546), which is followed by two paratexts that cast a revealing light on the polyglot education and self-conception of this aristocratic lady who had close connections to Holland and Flanders. The paratexts are a French motto, 'Pensez sur moy' ('Think of me'), and a Dutch poem in the tradition of the *rederijkers*.[42] At the lower end of the page, there is an abbreviated motto that cannot be decoded: 'H O A B'.

This example shows that Katharina of Bronchorst and Batenborch took what was probably a printed text but adapted it in her own way; her entry can be understood as a direct alternative to the standardization process that came with typographic song-transmission.

– She transfers the text into an individual script (possibly accompanied by the adaptation of the text to the Meuse-Rhenish written language) that can be clearly assigned to her.
– She does without the paratexts of printed song-transmission but integrates the text into a unique and formally diverse ensemble of mottoes, monograms, a date, two accompanying texts and a drawing that remodels a well-known motto into an illustration for the text. This contextualization reflects the noblewoman's linguistic education, which is in turn related to her family structures.
– The private nature of the entries is emphasized by the abbreviations on the upper and lower edge of the page, which corresponds to the fact that this manuscript includes some cryptograms (fol. 69v, fol. 97r).

Katharina of Bronchorst was not the only one using these adaptation processes. In fact, the handwritten secular songbooks in general make use of these techniques of individualization. Some of them are taken from the manuscript culture of the fifteenth century, some are completely new.

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42   The information given by Grosch that this Dutch song should be the dawn song no. 17, which was written down by another hand, is not correct. No. 17 ("De wynter ys vergangen") is on fol. 24v (*Die Darfelder Liederhandschrift 1546–1565* 72–73).

- They use heraldic devices and initials of the first or later owners on the book cover, on the flyleaves or in close proximity to the song texts in order to assign the single texts or the whole corpus to a certain person.
- The manuscripts include paratexts in Latin, German, Dutch or French, in prose or two or more lines of verse, that appear as individual comments from the contributors or owners.
- The contributions to a collective work can be individualized by heraldic devices, monograms, mottoes or dates, as in the 'Darfelder Liederhandschrift'; drawings on the title page or inside the text could perform a similar function for a songbook as a whole.
- The usage of non-standardized page sizes or individual handwriting can also be seen as a mirror or as a metonymic representation of the writer, and therefore clearly differs from the generic, impersonal types of the printing presses.
- The content plays an important role because specific literary interests influence the range of the songs and their specific literary, musical or linguistic shape.

All of these strategies could be used in the sixteenth century to express or create different personal, regional, social, religious or gender-specific identities. Further research would be needed to identify these strategies of identity-building more precisely; I would like to summarize my discussion with four theses:

(1) With the handwritten secular songbook a clearly defined medium develops in fifteenth century Germany that combines certain formal traits with typical content and persists at least until the end of the sixteenth century.

(2) Even the early examples of the 'Rostocker Liederbuch' and the 'Königsteiner Liederbuch' show that this medium can represent identities or in fact constitute them by functioning as a *dispositif*.

(3) This especially applies to the aristocratic *Liederstammbücher* such as the 'Darfelder Liederhandschrift', but the functioning of manuscripts as a *dispositif* can also be seen in urban collections.

(4) In competition with the printed song tradition, the owners and users of the handwritten secular songbooks develop a broad variety of strategies to individualize the notation of songs in their time. These strategies are used in the sixteenth century to create or to represent different identities.

Appendix: Corpus of Handwritten Secular Songbooks in German-Speaking Areas of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century

1.	Be$_1$	Berlin, SBPK: mgf 922	Berliner Lb. mgf 922	ca. 1425
2.	Be$_2$	Berlin, SBPK: Mus. Ms. 40	Lochamer Lb.	1451–1453
3.	Mnch	Munich, BSB: cgm 379, fols. 99v–165r (= songbook section)	Augsburger Lb.	1454
4.	Be$_3$	Berlin, SBPK: mgq 1107	Berliner schwäb. Lb. ('Palmsche Hs.')	1459
5.	Be$_4$	Berlin, SBPK: mgq 719	Königsteiner Lb.	1470/72
6.	Pr	Prague, Knihovna Národního musea: Cod. X A 12	Lb. der Clara Hätzlerin	1471
7.	Fi	burnt	Fichards Lb.	ca. 1475
8.	Ro	Rostock, UB: Mss. Philol. 100/2	Rostocker Lb.	ca. 1487
9.	Ta	Tallinn, Staatsarchiv, Aktenband B.A. 1 d, fol. 119r–124v (olim: Koblenz, Bundesarchiv)	'Reval-Felliner Liedersammlung'	ca. 1500
10.	Lei	Leipzig, UB: Ms. 1709 (olim: Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek: Cod. 14 A 39)	Bechsteins Hs.	ca. 1512
11.	Be$_5$	Berlin, SBPK: mgf 488	Hs. des Martin Ebenreutter	1530–1540
12.	Be$_6$	Berlin, SBPK: mgq 1480	Lb. der Katharina von Hatzfeld	1530–1540

13.	Da	Schloss Darfeld (Westfalen), Gräflich Droste-Vischeringsches Archiv: Archiv der Domherren Droste, C. Handschriften, 1	Lb. der Katharyna von Bronchorst und Batenborch ('Darfelder Liederhs.')	1546–1565
14.	Hei	Heidelberg, UB: cpg 343	Heidelberger Lb.	ca. 1550
15.	Ko	Kopenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek: Ny kgl. Samb. 816, 4°, fol. 128v–206v	Slg. deutschsprachiger Lieder in 'Langebeks Quarths.'	1562–1584
16.	Be_7	Berlin, SBPK: mgf 752	Berliner Liederhs. von 1568	1568
17.	$Mün_1$	Münster, Staatsarchiv: Dep. Nr. 5875	Benckhäuser Liederhs.; Lb. der Anna Lüning	1573–1588
18.	Be_8	Berlin, SBPK: mgq 612	Berliner niederrh. Liederhs. von 1574	1574
19.	Be_9	Berlin, SBPK: mgf 753	Osnabrückisches Lb.	ca. 1575
20.	Be_{10}	Berlin, SBPK: mgq 1872 (olim: Wernigerode, Fürstlich Stolbergische Bibliothek: Cod. Zg 15)	Lb. des Grafen Hans Gerhard von Manderscheid	(1575–1600)
21.	$Mün_2$	Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibl., Hs. 1190	'Mones Handschrift'; 'Quarthandschrift von 1579'; 'Lb. der Anna von Kerkerinck'	1579
22.	Ka	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek: Cod. Donaueschingen 121	Lb. der Ottilia Fenchlerin	1592
23.	Be_{11}	Berlin, SBPK: mgq 733	Lb. des Sebastian Eber	1596
24.	Be_{12}	Berlin, SBPK: mgq 498	Berliner Liederhs. um 1600	ca. 1600

| 25. | Ox | Oxford, Bodleian Library: Ms. Opp. add. 4° 136 | Oxforder Lb. | ca. 1600 |
| 26. | Wo | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek: Mscr. extravag. 264. 26.4° | Lb. des Prinzen Joachim Karl von Braunschweig | ca. 1600 |

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'Social Networking is in Our DNA': Women's Alba Amicorum as Places to Build and Affirm Group Identities

Sophie Reinders

The album amicorum or autograph album—literally translated as 'list of friends'—is a distinctly early modern genre. In German it is called a *Stammbuch, Stamm- und Wappenbuch* or *Geselln-Buch*, in Dutch a *Stamboek* or *Vriendenrol*.[1] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it carried many Latin names, such as *liber memoralis, museum literarium* and *theatrum eruditorum*.[2] Regardless of the name the collection bears, its most important characteristic is that it records encounters and the networks behind those encounters.

Scholars generally accept that the origin and history of the album amicorum is lodged in the world of the university, especially that of the Protestant University of Wittenberg.[3] Martin Luther was a lecturer there and regularly received requests from students to impart an inscription in their books, such as Bibles and hymn collections. The practice spread, and soon students sought similar contributions not only from Luther, but also from other Reformed professors/lecturers like Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Oertel and George Maior.[4] The popularity of collecting inscriptions grew rapidly. In order to create more

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1　Thomassen K. (ed.), *Alba Amicorum: vijf eeuwen vriendschap op papier gezet: het album amicorum en het poëziealbum in de Nederlanden* (Maarssen – The Hague: 1990) 9; *Grote Winkler Prins Encyclopedie in 20 delen* (Amsterdam – Brussels: 1966–1976), vol. I, 536–537.

2　Ridder van Rappard F.A., "Overzigt eener verzameling alba amicorum uit de XVIde en XVIIde eeuw", *Nieuwe reeks van werken van de Ma atschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden* 7 (Leiden: 1856) 8–9. Other names given by Van Rappard are: Gazophylacium literarium; Armamentarium eruditum; Apiarium and Hortus Amicorum.

3　Klose W., "Stammbücher—Eine kulturhistorische Betrachtung", *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 16 (1982) 4548; Nickson M.A.E., "Some sixteenth century albums in the British Library", *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 30 (1986) 23–26 and Nickson M.A.E., *Early Autograph Albums in the British Museum* (London: 1970).

4　Klose W., *Corpus Alborum Amicorum—CCA—Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: 1988) XVI. The oldest book including blank pages specifically intended to receive the signatures of Wittenberg reformers dates from 1548. It is a copy of Philip Melanchtons *Loci communes rerum theologicarum*, which belonged to the

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space for inscriptions, some books included blank sheets. Somewhat later, bound books were comprised of only blank sheets, and these books functioned as alba amicorum. These collections did not include contributions only by professors: students were asked to write something as well. Students' alba thus became collections of signatures from professors and other students. The latter were relegated to a place in the back of the album; the front pages were destined for the important names.[5] Due to the enormous influence of the University of Wittenberg, the custom of collecting inscriptions from teachers and fellow students spread to other universities.

For a young nobleman, the album was not only a reminder of the people he had met during his *peregrinatio*, his academic travels, but also gave him access to new circles. The autographs of famous people could ensure that doors opened that would otherwise have remained closed. It has been argued that both the owner and the contributor regarded the male student's album amicorum as a means for *self-fashioning*:

> Not only did the album owner receive the praise of contributors with satisfaction; so also was he pleased to have subsequent contributors read what earlier ones had written. And the contributor who was honored, even humbled, to have been asked to sign, was pleased not only to have provided a literate or clever tribute but also to have inscribed a message that others would read and admire. And, of course, both took pride in their membership within the community of friends, acquaintances, and dignitaries who signed.[6]

The practice of keeping an album amicorum was not limited to the university environment, for alba were also kept in other social circles such as those of traveling painters, merchants and diplomats.[7] In this article I will discuss another significant and lesser known group of Dutch alba amicorum from

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nobleman Christoph von Teuffenbach. The first dated inscription dates from 1551 (Klose, "Stammbücher" 43).

5   In the inscriptions a certain hierarchical order can be recognized. Princes and noblemen wrote in front, followed by professors and fellow students. Relatives found a place at the back of the book. The boundaries of these categories are usually very vague, cf. Davidsson A., "Einige Stammbücher in schwedischen Sammlungen", *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 11 (1981) 73–95.

6   Schlueter J., *The Album Amicorum & the London of Shakespeare's Time* (London: 2011) 28.

7   Max Rosenheim lists as album owners 'high officials, ecclesiastics, and soldiers; physicians, lawyers, and teachers; painters, musicians, merchants, and artisans' in Danzig. Rosenheim M., "The Album Amicorum", *Archeologia* 62 (1910) 251–308; 259.

the sixteenth and early seventeenth century onwards: alba amicorum kept by women, or 'women's alba'. These women's alba, popular in the Netherlands and the neighboring German territories at that time, are much less studied than the better-known (and more numerously preserved) alba of noblemen.[8] It is possible that women copied the habit of keeping an album from their traveling and studying male relatives, but it seems that the rise of men's and women's alba developed simultaneously[9] and women got the idea from each other.[10]

Women's alba tell a different story than men's. They do not provide a recollection of the wanderings of a student or a group of continuously changing fellow students. Women traveled less often than men and usually stayed in the same location, ordinarily their family home, for a long time. Accordingly, the album was used more as a guestbook, a personal songbook (even while printed songbooks were already in circulation) or a combination of both. It is striking that, in comparison to men's alba, women's alba contain significantly more songs. The song seems to have had a clear function in the 'social culture' of the possessor and the social circle reflected in her album. But women's alba also contain other types of inscriptions like poems, mottos and drawings. It shows the network of family, friends and acquaintances who actually visited the house of the owner at least once—in contrast with the alba of men, which were full of interesting names, of persons briefly met while traveling, but not necessarily of close contacts and/or houseguests.

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8   Delen M.-A., "Frauenalben als Quelle: Frauen und Adelskultur im 16. Jahrhundert", in Klose W. (ed.), *Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 42 (1989) 75–93; 75; Joldersma H., "Writing Late-Medieval Women and Song into Literary History", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 117 (2001) 5–26; Schnabel W.W., *Das Stammbuch. Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: 2001); Strijbosch C., "Sage mir, mit wem du umgehst … Sammelprinzipien in Liederhandschriften des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts", *Neophilologus* 90 (2006) 401–421; Strijbosch C., "Vrouw maan, blijf staan: wereldlijke liederenverzamelingen van de zestiende eeuw", in Grijp, L.P. – Willaert F. (eds.), *De fiere nachtegaal: het Nederlandse lied in de middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: 2008) 269–297.

9   In the album of Katharyna van Bronchorst inscriptions are dated as early as 1546. This is earlier than the oldest men's alba from the Netherlands (known to us): the album owned by Stephanus van Rhemen and that of Johan van Lynden. In both alba the earliest entries date from 1556. Cf. Thomassen, *Alba Amicorum.*

10   Several album owners were in contact with each other (Delen, "Frauenalbe als Quelle" 78–80). I will come back to this. Some thoughts on what the various texts, written by different inscribers, can tell about the inscribers and the album owners can be found in e.g. Oosterman J.B., "Die ik mijn hart wil geven: het album van Joanna Bentinck en de zestiende-eeuwse vrouwenalba", *Literatuur* 19 (2002) 194–202; Strijbosch, "Vrouw maan" and Strijbosch, "Sage mir".

But exactly how personal were these women's alba and how personally intended their inscriptions? How do we investigate the relationships they document? In this article I will discuss some difficulties concerning the investigation of these unique sources when answering research questions about the display, construction and affirmation of identities through shared cultural artifacts. In men's alba, as has been argued, inscribers provided a literary or clever tribute, a message that others would read and admire, thus fashioning themselves via their inscriptions. What can we say about identity management when it comes to a woman's album, which was not kept in order to network for other reasons, such as professional? I will give some recommendations for future research on these sources and these sorts of questions.

Identification of Women's Alba and Their Owners

In order to say anything about these sources and identity the first questions we must answer are: what do we consider a women's alba and to whom did the alba belong? With respect to the first question, which asks about the genre of the physical book, it must be said that it is not always easy to identify alba amicorum. The album is a hybrid genre, comprised of all kinds of shapes and forms and mixed genres such as emblem books interleaved with blank sheets,[11] loose quires[12] and combinations of a printed songbook and (what may be) a

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11   This is quite a popular form for alba of men. A beautiful example is the album of
      Philippus *Anshelm* (The Hague, Royal Library, 133 M 142). Inscriptions are placed in an
      interleaved copy of A. Alciatus's *Emblemata* (Lyon, Math. Bonhomme: 1551). On mixed
      forms, e.g. the mix of alba amicorum and emblem books, see also: Warncke C.P., "Über
      emblematische Stammbücher", in Fechner J.U., *Stammbücher als kulturhistorische
      Quellen* (Munich: 1981) 197–204, Praz M., Studies in seventeenth-century imagery (Rome:
      1964) 47–50 and Boureau A., "Les livres d'emblèmes sur la scène publique: côté jardin et
      côté cour", in Chartier R. (ed.), *Les usages de l'imprimé (XVᵉ–XIXᵉ siècle)* (Paris: 1987) 366.
      For some examples of Alciato's emblems and alba amicorum in London, Moscow, and
      Oxford see http://www.mun.ca/alciato/album.html (accessed: 17-12-2014). An example of
      an emblem collection that might have been used as a woman's album is a copy of Daniel
      Heinsius's *Quaeris quid sit Amor* bound together with a printed songbook and including
      some blank pages. (The Hague, Royal Library, KW 1121 F 61 [1] and [2]). Another example is
      a composite volume (Nijmegen, University Library, 194 d 15) that begins with the Amorum
      Emblemata from Otto Vaenius (Nijmegen, University Library, OD 194 d 15 nr. 1), followed
      by a coat of arms and another seven folia filled with handwritten inscriptions, followed
      by P.C. Hooft's Emblemata amatoria (Nijmegen, University Library, OD 194 d 15 nr. 2) and
      another seventeen folia filled with handwritten inscriptions like motto's and songs.
12   A special, but nevertheless very common form of an album contribution is the pasted
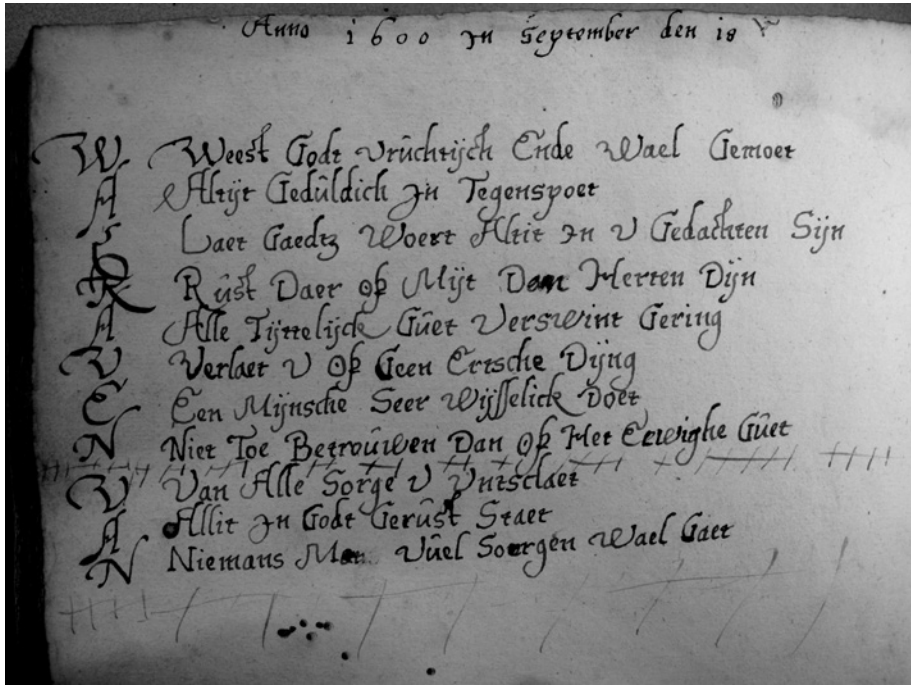   one. The insertions are sent or given to the album owner, for example following an earlier

FIGURE 6.1 *The first part of the acrostic that Rutghera van Eck wrote for her friend spells 'Walraven van'. Album amicorum of Walraven van Stepraedt, fol. 179v. Arnhem, Archive of Gelre, Manuscript Collection, 412.*
IMAGE © ARCHIVE OF GELRE ARNHEM.

woman's album amicorum. With respect to the second question, it is not always possible to determine the identity of owners and contributors, but fortunately there are quite a few women's alba that are clearly that: books, owned and kept by one woman and filled from cover to cover with all kinds of handwritten inscriptions (not just songs) by many different hands. These are the women's alba which will be the focus of this article. For quite a number of these alba it has already been determined who the possessors were, for example because

encounter. In a few cases there are traces of sealing wax left and visible on the paper. It also happened that the owner of an album pasted contributions from other alba into his own. This happened for example in the album of Leo and Johannes Roelofs on fol. 72r. (The Hague, Royal Library, 74 H 20). In the album of Clara de Beers the pin and the loose piece of paper with an inscription that it pinned down is still visible (The Hague, Royal Library, 135 J 53) and in the album of Adam Ulrich (1549), a signature by Martin Luther dating from 1532 was pasted in later. The album seems to be lost (Klose "Stambucher" 44).

FIGURE 6.2   *The second part of the acrostic that Rutghera van Eck wrote for her friend spells*
'Stepraedt'. Album amicorum of Walraven van Stepraedt, fol. 180r. Arnhem, Archive
of Gelre, Manuscript Collection, 412.
IMAGE © ARCHIVE OF GELRE ARNHEM.

they wrote that fact in their album and/or their name is on the cover and/or
their name appears in one or more inscriptions (e.g. in the form of an acrostic).
Examples of the latter are: the inscription Rutghera van Eck wrote in the album
of her friend Walraven van Stepraedt (fol. 179v–180r) [Fig. 6.1 and 6.2]—the
acrostic reads over two pages: 'Walraven van Stepraedt'—and an inscription
in the third album of Joanna Bentinck with the acrostic 'Ianne Bentinc' (fol.
120v) [Fig. 6.3].[13]

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13   Another example is the inscription of H. v. Arnhem in the album of Rutghera van Eck that
     bears the acrostic 'Rutghera van Eck' on fol. 73v–74r.
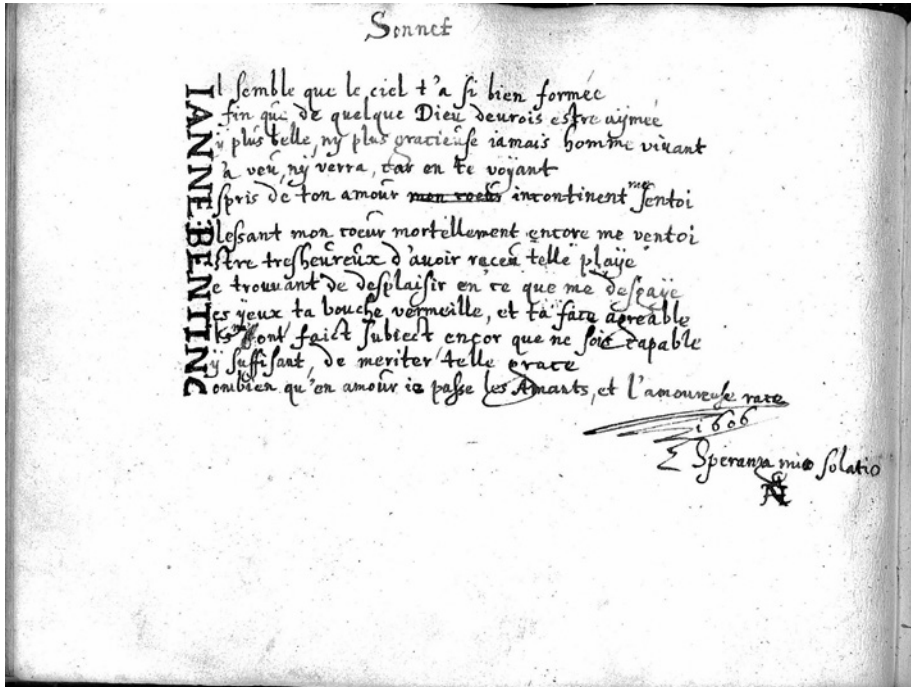
FIGURE 6.3 *The acrostic spells 'Ianne Bentinck'. Album amicorum of Joanna Bentinck, part 3.*
The Hague, Supreme Council of Nobility, HsDHHRA Sp 87c, fol. 120v.
IMAGE © SUPREME COUNCIL OF NOBILITY THE HAGUE.

When focussing on those alba that are without doubt a woman's album several
questions can still be raised. Those alba contain names from (often) histori-
cally identifiable people.[14] But even if the owner of the album is known and
the contributors and their relationship with her can be identified, the problem
concerning identity management is not solved. Was the album empty when
the woman started to collect inscriptions? Did she buy it herself or receive
the book from someone as a gift (and as a result had less control over its con-
tent), and if the latter: was it completely or partly filled? Did she write songs
and other contributions in it herself, and if so, how many (if a great deal, thus

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14   When a person signed with initials we often cannot find out to whom these refer and
     what his or her relationship with the owner was.

serving as an example of her musical (cultural) taste)? Did she say: 'I love that song, could you inscribe that one?' In other words: who was responsible for the choice of the texts? But even when it is impossible to reconstruct the exact genesis of some alba, they still can be studied as means of sharing cultural arte-facts, displaying a network and building identity. I intend to show this through a comparative analysis of the historical alba and similar media in the present.

Part of a Network: Alba as Social Network Mapping Services

If media archaeologists knew women's alba amicorum, they might well con-sider them an early form of social media to visualize (historical) relationships between young adolescents. I shall consider alba amicorum as a *social network*[15] *mapping service* (SNMS from here in). In this way, I can compare them to mod-ern SNMSs and use identity-related research, from e.g. New Media Studies and sociology to say something about the way women managed their identity through their alba, their SNMSs. Such a comparative analysis leads to a better understanding of these hybrid, layered and complex sources.

For my purposes, *social network mapping services* and *social network sites* will be considered as the same:

> Social network sites are application systems that offer users functional-ities for *identity management* (1) (the representation of the own person e.g. in form of a profile) and enable furthermore to *keep in touch* (2) with other users (and thus the administration of their contacts).[16]

A comparative study of modern and historical SNMSs will be used to rethink the nature of social network mapping services, the semi-public sharing of inscriptions, and the act of copying and identity building through sharing (cul-tural artefacts). The women's alba have their roots in the social networks of their time. Research has—up till now—uncovered three close networks of a

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15   A social network can be thought of as a number of nodes (or persons) connected by a series of links (or relationships). Meehan P.J., *A Bibliography of the Relationships Between Social Networks and Urban Design Phenomena* (University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee: 1975) 2.

16   Richter A. – Koch M., "Functions of Social Networking Services", *Proceedings 8th Interna-tional Conference on the Design of Cooperative Systems* (Carry-le-Rouet, France, Institut d'Etudes Politiques d'Aix-en-Provence: 2008) 87–98; 87, 88.

group of women's alba, their owners and inscribers. The first identifies a network of women's alba from the period around 1600, originating from the eastern part of the present Netherlands and the German borderland. Basing her argument on a comparison of all (non-anonymous) contributors to the six alba known to date,[17] Sigrid van den Berg discovered a close network between alba in this area. It seems obvious that there would be connections between two or more alba from the same period and environment. The network discovered by Van den Berg is a solid one, because a majority of the inscribers occur in more than two alba and often contribute very personalized inscriptions.[18] A second network between women's alba was discovered by Marie-Ange Delen around the court of Willem of Orange in Antwerp (alba which in turn are connected to the album of Joanna Bentinck, part of the first network).[19] And a third network existed among nobility in Friesland.[20]

These clusters of alba have some characteristics in common: the women who kept an album were part of a relatively closed group of noble families and

17   Berg S. van den, *Krabbelen avant la lettre: een onderzoek naar zes vrouwenalba uit het eind van de zestiende en het begin van de zeventiende eeuw*, Unpublished MA thesis (Radboud University Nijmegen: 2009). Van den Berg analyzed the alba of: Joanna Bentinck (The Hague, Supreme Council of Nobility, Collection Van Spaen, inv.nr. 87a, 87b, 87c); Margaretha van Mathenesse, (Arnhem, Archive of Gelre, Huisarchief Waardenburg en Neerijnen, inv.nr. 2118); Walraven van Stepraedt (Arnhem, Archive of Gelre, Manuscript Collection, inv.nr. 412); Rutghera van Eck (The Hague, Supreme Council of Nobility, Family archives Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, inv.nr. 17); Machtelt van Gelder (Gelders Archief, Huisarchief Waardenburg en Neerijnen, inv.nr. 2119); Catherina van Eck (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Manuscripts B4.).

18   For a succinct description (and extension) of this group of alba and the network between them see Reinders, S., "Zonder eer geen adel. Het album amicorum van Henrica van Arnhem", *Virtus. Journal of Nobility Studies* 20 (2013) 196–209.

19   Delen, M.-A., *Het album amicorum van Aleyd van Arnhem gedecodeerd, met speciale aandacht voor vrouwenalba en het gebruik daarvan aan het hof van prins Willem van Oranje*, Unpublished MA thesis (Radboud University Nijmegen: 1984). Delen analyzed the alba of Aleyd van Arnhem (Leiden, University Library, BPL 2267), the album of Quirine van Horne (The Hague, Supreme Council of Nobility, nr. 105) and Marie van Marnix (London, British Library, British Museum, Sloane Add. nr. 851).

20   Eleven alba amicorum that originally belonged to the Van Harinxma thoe Slooten family of Friesland of which four are women's alba: Hiskia van Harinxma (The Hague, Royal Library, 79 J 42); Juliana de Roussel (The Hague, Royal Library, 79 J 50); Geertruydt van Engelsteedt (The Hague, Royal Library, 79 J 44) and Kunera van Douma (The Hague, Royal Library, 79 J 49).

friends who were often bound to a specific region.[21] Many contributors wrote in multiple alba and kept an album themselves. A number of inscribers wrote several entries in one album over a period of sometimes dozens of years, which indicates that they met the owner multiple times and in different stages of their lives. (Groups of) alba reveal a network of friends and acquaintances with many shared connections. In our own time, similar webs of connections can be seen on Facebook. In both cases, individuals are members of peer groups that map their social connections via an SNMS. Sociological research has shown that connections articulated on modern social network sites often begin as reflections of already existing communities in real life.[22] This seems to be the case with women's alba as well. For example: Rutghera van Eck, Walraven van Stepraedt, Joanna Bentinck and Henrica van Arnhem lived close to each other and shared connections (54 between Rutghera and Walraven, 22 between Walraven and Joanna, 39 between Joanna and Rutghera), and were often bound by family ties (for example Henrica was Walraven's niece).

Which other mechanisms, intentions and processes are shared by these SNMSs? Facebook is a multimedia platform, which means that it brings various forms of media together in one place.[23] Users can share movies, photos, (pop)

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21   Of course there are alba that do not belong to these networks in these regions, for example the album of Clara de Beers (mentioned earlier in footnote 12) and that of Aefgen van Giblant (The Hague, Royal Library, 135 K 36). But the practice of keeping an album seems to have been popular in a few traceable circles. Whether the same phenomenon appeared in different regions simultaneously or if it was popular in one region and spread to others must yet be investigated.

22   Boyd D., "Friendster and Publicly Articulated Social Networks", Extended abstracts of the 2004 conference on Human factors and computing systems (Vienna, 24–29 April 2004). Via: http://www.danah.org/papers/CHI2004Friendster.pdf.

23   At present (2014), Facebook is the market leader in digital social network mapping services with than 1.11 billion people using the site each month worldwide. This is the main reason for me to use the online platform as a case study. Facebook is a digital social network mapping service or a social network service (SNS). Danah Boyd defines SNSs as 'web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system' (Boyd D. – Ellison N., "Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship", *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication* 13, 1 (2007) 2. Facebook fits this profile perfectly. The medium was founded by Mark Zuckerberg in 2004 as an online network for university students to keep in touch with each other. After a brief successful period, Zuckerberg decided to make the platform accessible to anyone in the world above the age of thirteen. Facebook became even more successful, growing to be one of the biggest companies in the technological world and even making its debut on the stock

songs, hyperlinks, texts and even games with each other. Multimediality might seem a specific aspect of the Internet, but the alba had a similar character. Alba were used to share poems, lyrics, pictures, emblems, paintings and other types of inscriptions. Therefore they, too, can be regarded as multimedia platforms, within the technological limits of the time.

When teenagers nowadays discover a new song, or really like a song, they can share this via SNMSs like Facebook and MySpace. The sharing of digital music via Facebook is to a certain extent similar to the practice of inscribing lyrics in alba amicorum. Certain songs will have certain connotations within the specific peer group of friends and remind them of, for example, a night out. Of course Facebook offers more opportunities to share things, but there is arguably a parallel between the operating mechanism, and equally between the need/the wish to share (cultural) inscriptions in a semi-public space (one selects one's network of friends that can see one's wall or read one's album).

Although cyber-bullying does exist, people are expected to (and generally do) post positive things on one another's walls. They post songs, texts, etc. that the 'owner' of the profile is expected to like. Users can decorate their walls and manage their online identity. They can delete negative or displeasing messages. Similarly, album owners also expected positive contributions. This appears, for example, in the third album of Joanna Bentinck, who writes in the beginning of her album: 'This book belongs to Joanna Bentinck. Whoever does not want to write anything nice in it, had better stay out of it.'[24] Similar warnings, or rather, encouragements, to write something appropriate and positive for the album owner, we find in other alba.[25]

On Facebook it is very common to indicate who your partner is ('is in a relationship with…') and people flirt by sharing posts. Alba have expressions of existing relationships as well, for example by couples writing on the same page. In the album of Agnes Ripperda, her sister Anna and her husband Volkhardt van Haddien zu Knerrienhausen write their inscription on the same page.[26]

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exchange. Facebook lets Internet users make a profile of themselves and add profiles of their friends to their network. This way, the social network of the user gets documented online. However, the user's friends do have to own a Facebook profile to be documented in this social network mapping service.

24   'Joanna Bentijnck hoert dit bock toe. Die daer niet go[e]dts in wil schriu[e]n die mach daer wael butten bliven' (fol. 1v).

25   For example the album of Judith Sloet: in a sort of preface in her album that she calls 'Il libretto al scrittori' she states what contributors could and could not write. Album amicorum of Judith Sloet, The Hague, Royal Library, 134 B 14 nr. 82.

26   Arnhem, Archive of Gelre, Huizen Nettelhorst en de Heest, 0418–357.

Anna also makes it very clear that she is married to Volckaert by adding to her name: 'genant von haddyn, frau zu knerrienhausen' [called Von Haddyn, lady of Knerrienhausen]. In Rutghera van Eck's album, folio 19r bears an inscription by Ernst Casimir van Nassau to the left of which is one by his wife Sophia Hedwig van Brunswijk-Lüneburg. This occurs in many alba: contributors indicating whom they belong to and writing on the same page.

As on Facebook, alba include reminders of parties (on Facebook often illustrated with photographs). The *Overijssels Liedboek*[27]—a woman's album kept by Margaretha Haghen—includes, on folio 183v, traces of the party of the night before:

> In Shrovetide, on day two,
> We guests wrote this for you
> And could not leave for home,
> So tipsy we'd become;
> Love made us so bedottled
> We left nothing in the bottle.[28]

This inscription in Margaret's album was accompanied by many contributions, suggesting that many friends attended the party and stayed overnight.

So there seem to be quite a few parallel practices and characteristics of sharing cultural content within friendship networks between alba amicorum and Facebook. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*? Not entirely. Of course a lot has changed over time. Cultural practices never simply adapt to new technological conditions, but always inherently change along with the technologies and the potentialities of their use.

First of all, Facebook is a digital medium (or *computer mediated communication tool*), while an album is an analogue medium. Nowadays the SNMS Facebook has fierce competition. There are many sites and applications that allow users to map their social network (LinkedIn, Google Plus, MySpace, Twitter, etc.). Alba had less competition (writing letters comes to mind).

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27 Leiden, University Library, BPL 2912.

28 '*Den tweeden dach van vasten* / Hebben wij dit gescreven als gasten / En consten nijet gangen van hier / Wij en waeren al droncken schier / Want waeren van liefden alzoo sot / Dat wij nijet en lieten inden pot' (fol. 183v). Transl. Myra Heerspink Scholz (in: Joldersma H., "The Gift of Beautiful Words. Women's Alba Amicorum. manuscripts from the eastern Netherlands, 1546–1609", in: Gemert L. van (ed.), *Women's Writing from the Low Countries 1200–1875: A Bilingual Anthology* (Amsterdam: 2010) 190–205).

When it comes to Facebook, users are dependent on whether their friends use it or not; if not, they cannot connect with them, while in the case of an album, someone could write in one without being an album owner him- or herself. It is possible to post an 'inscription' on Facebook from any place in the world with a computer and Internet access, while album owners were dependent on the people they knew and met in real life. For inscribing an album it was necessary to be physically near the album. On sites like Facebook, users can post something on someone's wall, without asking his or her permission first. 'Owners', however, can delete a post afterwards (album owners could 'delete' a post by ripping out the page or striking out the inscription). For women's alba it is likely that the owner herself was nearby at the time of inscribing, which makes the level of control before and during the writing more direct.[29] While posting on Facebook, one does not have people literally looking over one's shoulder.

Another difference is that, in the case of Facebook, other agencies—other than users and friends—have influence on someone's wall, e.g. through ads. This was obviously not the case in alba. Alba were not a centralized medium owned commercially, while Facebook is.

Finally it should be noted that Facebook does more than document one's social network and share inscriptions. Users can now communicate directly with their friends through the chat program. In the case of the alba, users could obviously only chat with each other directly, 'in real life' or through letter writing.

So, indeed, there are arguably as many differences as similarities. Even so, the similarities assist in considering identity questions. The characteristics of sharing (music, texts: diverse contributors drawing material for their entries from a transmitted corpus of known texts) and the desire to share—and at the same time map a social network—does not seem to have changed radically. Therefore we will test whether the insights of New Media Studies enlightens ways of cultural sharing in the alba.

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29   This leads to the fact that people from the immediate surroundings, but with a social status that was too low, thus seem to never appear in alba.

Individual Identity on SNMS? Social Steganography: Controlling and Limiting Meaning

When teens post content in public places online, there is often more meaning behind their messages than meets the eye. Danah Boyd has been examining social media practices among American teens for five years, observing their practices and interviewing them about what they do.[30] In the early days of MySpace, as teens were first engaged with social network sites, the meaning behind their comments was relatively easy to decode. Yet, as more and more people went online, teens became more sophisticated in what they did. They started thinking about audiences that were not wanted but could not be avoided, according to Boyd, and turned to social steganography.

Steganography is an age-old tactic of hiding information in plain sight. It is the ultimate 'security through obscurity'. The Greeks were notorious for using steganography, e.g. by hiding messages in wax tablets, tattooing the heads of slaves and then sending them to their destination once their hair had grown back. Children too learn steganographic techniques as part of play: hidden ink pens are popular toys. 'Steganography is not powerful because of strong encryption, but because people do not think to look for a hidden message.'[31]

One of the many teenagers Boyd interviewed was Carmen, a seventeen-year-old Latina living in Boston, who one day broke up with her boyfriend. The relationship had not been working, but she was still sad. 'Not suicidally sad, just sad.' Whenever she was feeling grumpy, she posted song lyrics to Facebook. She wanted her friends to know how she was feeling but at the same time she was concerned with the possibility of upsetting her mother, whom she was Friends with on Facebook. So, rather than posting a sentimental, sad song lyric, she chose to post lyrics from *Always Look on the Bright Side of Life*.

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30   See for example Boyd D. – Ellison N., "Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship", *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13, 1 (2007), article 11; Boyd D., "Why Youth (Heart) Social Network Sites: The Role of Networked Publics in Teenage Social Life", in Buckingham D. (ed.), *MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Learning – Youth, Identity, and Digital Media Volume* (Cambridge: 2007); Boyd, "Friendster"; Shklovski I. – Boyd D., "Music as Cultural Glue: Supporting Bands and Fans on MySpace" (2006), via http://www.danah.org/papers/BandsAndFans.pdf.

31   Boyd D., "Living Life in Public: Why American Teens Choose Publicity Over Privacy", *AOIR 2010* (Gothenburg, 23 October 2010).

Her geeky friends immediately recognized the song from *Life of Brian*[32] and knew that the song was sung when Brian was about to be executed. Her mother, on the other hand, did not realize that the words were a song lyric, let alone know the Monty Python reference. She took the words literally and posted a comment under Carmen's post, noting that she seemed to be doing really well. Her friends, knowing the full backstory, texted her.[33]

Carmen's story shows the complex balance of privacy and publicity and what it means for teens to live in public, according to Boyd. On one hand, Carmen wants to tell all of her friends what is going on, wants to share what she truly feels. She wants their attention and sympathy, support and love, so she turns to Facebook to announce her emotional state. At the same time, she is conscious of who might be listening in and is particularly concerned about a certain subset of the audience: her mother. Therefore in speaking publicly, she encodes the content, making it more meaningful to some than to others. This is an act of social steganography. According to Boyd, in a networked society, and on (semi-)public network mapping sites or services, privacy is not about controlling or limiting access for a specific public, but:

> It's going to be about controlling and limiting *meaning*. This doesn't mean that addressing access isn't important; it is. But rather, controlling access will not always be successful and cannot always be guaranteed. Because of teens' structural position, they don't depend on access as a barrier. They don't understand—and, thus, don't trust—Facebook's privacy settings. They try to keep things locked down as much as possible. *But they also add another layer of protection when they encoded content, use in-jokes, or make references to things that require being in the know. It's not hard for anyone to read a song lyric, but knowing what it means requires knowing the circumstances in which it's posted.* (Italics SR)[34]

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32   The irreverent satire of Biblical films and religious intolerance by the British comedy group Monty Python (1979) focuses on Brian, a Jew in Roman-occupied Judea. He is mistaken for a prophet, and becomes a reluctant Messiah.

33   Boyd, "Living Life in Public".

34   Boyd, "Living Life in Public". See also: Boyd D., "Networked Privacy", *Personal Democracy Forum* (New York: 6 June 2011). 'Teens use pronouns to refer to people and events that

With women's alba, teens[35] probably went about communication in a similar way. A fine example of the difference between the *public* and *hidden* transcript within the peer group around an album is the second album of Joanna Bentinck. In 1581, Floris van Buchorst wrote a "Chanson de la complaincte the Piramus" in her first album, followed by a "Response" and ending with a four-line poem, also in French, which, together with the accompanying drawings, belongs to the most popular inscriptions in women's alba [Fig. 6.4]:

> Comme la mouche mest sa vie en peril
> Pour voier la clarte d'une chandelle.
> Ainsy doibt faire tout homme gentil
> Pour la beaulte d'une Damoijselle.[36]

This beloved poem appears again in the second album of Joanna Bentinck, where it was inscribed by Joan Baptista de Renesse, and also in her third album, inscribed in 1605 by Walramus Schellardt. Around the chandelier a virtually identical text is written [Fig. 6.5 and 6.6]. The texts are not completely identical, and while differences do not prove that one was not copied from another, here it is more likely that people wrote down from memory a poem that many of them knew by heart.[37] The text in the third album shows a variant compared

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only those "in the know" know the reference. Others use song lyrics to fly below the radar, engaging in an act of social steganography. None of this is new, but it takes on a new scale when it takes place in Facebook.' See also: Boyd D., "Teen Socialization Practices in Networked Publics", *MacArthur Forum*, Palo Alto, California, 23 April 2008: 'Controlling access will not always be successful and cannot always be guaranteed'. One can imagine this was the same with women's alba: parents could pick up the book and read inscriptions.

35   Many female album owners kept an album before their marriage. After their marriage entries stopped or were much reduced.

36   'A moth will put its life at risk / To gaze upon a candle flame. / To glimpse a lady's loveliness / A gentleman must do the same.' Transl. Myra Heerspink Scholtz, see Joldersma H., " 'The Gift of Beautiful Words'. Women's Alba Amicorum.: Manuscripts from the eastern Netherlands, 1546–1609", in Gemert L. van (ed.), *Women's Writing from the Low Countries 1200–1875: A Bilingual Anthology* (Amsterdam: 2010) 190–205.

37   The illustration does not appear just in Joanna's album, but also in other alba from the corpus I studied. In the album of Sophia Renesse van der Aa, Joan Baptista de Renesse added the illustration and poem on the 8th of August 1582 and Assuerus de Brakel wrote the same poem on fol. 139v, without the illustration. In the album of Margaretha van Mathenesse an illustration of a candle with a fly appears on fol. 47v, this time inscribed
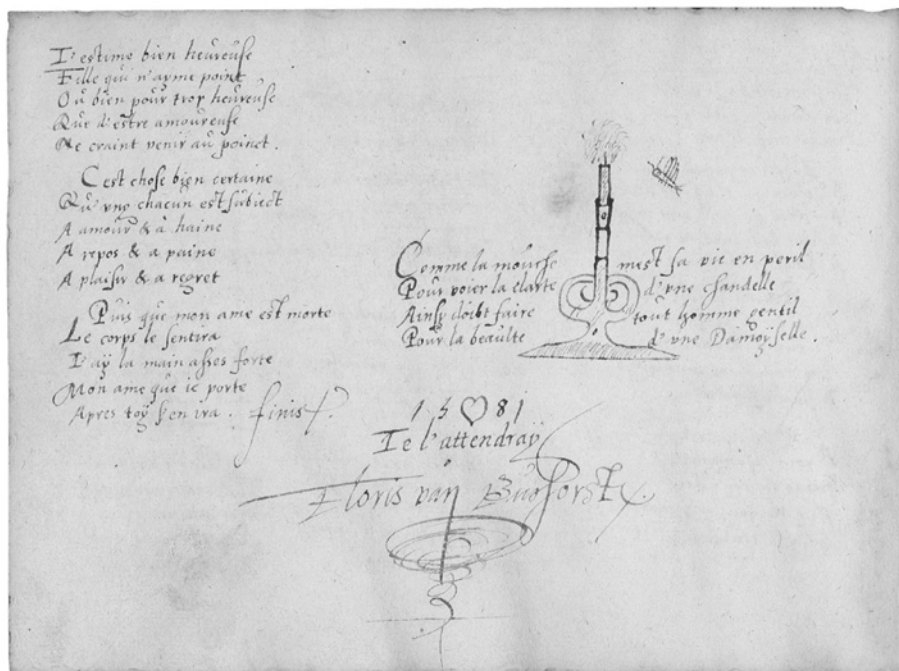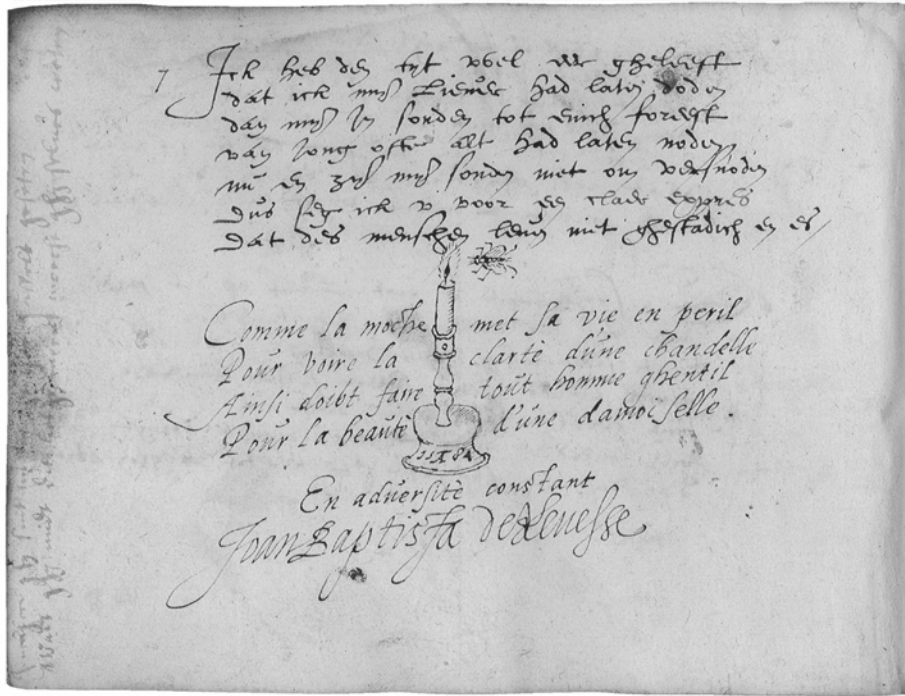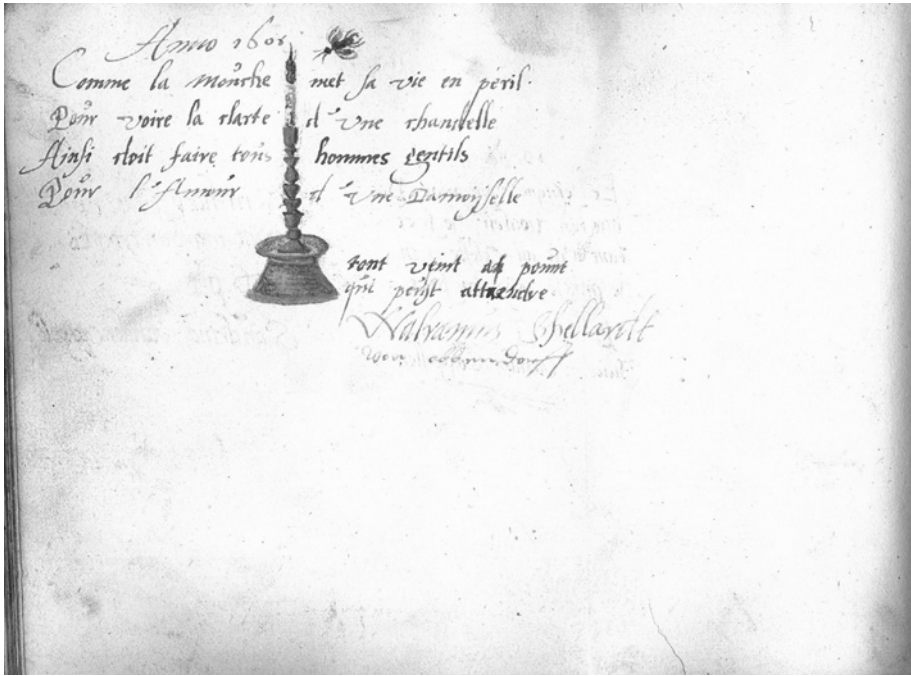
FIGURE 6.4 *The candle and the fly. Inscription (1581) by Floris van Buchorst in the album of Joanna Bentinck, part 1. The Hague, Supreme Council of Nobility, HsDHHRA Sp 87a, fol. 82v.*
IMAGE © SUPREME COUNCIL OF NOBILITY THE HAGUE.

by Louis de Risoue (year unknown). In the album amicorum of the family Pieck van Soelen (in private possession of the Völcker family—Chateau d'Épina, Montfort par Doué) the inscriber also speaks of 'a papillon' instead of 'la mouche' and adds the same drawing. The drawing of and poem about the butterfly and the candle appear on fol. 38r of this album. In the album of Rutghera van Eck the text appears again (fol. 43v). Henrich Philips Vogt van Elspe inscribes a variant of the poem, without the drawing of the candle and the fly. The image of the fly and the candle is also found in other contemporary sources. In the emblem collection *Quaeris quid sit Amor* by Daniël Heinsius (1601) a similar illustration appears. At emblem 8, 'Cosi de ben amar porto tormento', there is the illustration of the burning candle on a pedestal surrounded by insects. The insects come too close to the flame and die. The source for the metaphor of the lover as a moth in the flame comes from (among others) Petrarch, *The Canzoniere*, namely the following poem: 'There are creatures in the world with such other / vision that it is protected from the full sun: / yet others, because the great light offends them / cannot move around until the evening falls: // and others with mad desire, that hope / perhaps to delight in fire, because it gleams, / prove the other power, that which burns: / alas, and my place is with these last. // I am not strong enough to gaze at the light / of that lady, and do not know how to make a screen / from shadowy places, or the late hour: // yet, with weeping and infirm eyes, my fate / leads me to look on her: and well I

FIGURE 6.5 *The candle and the fly. Inscription (1584) of Joan Baptista de Renesse in the album of Joanna Bentinck, part 2. The Hague, Supreme Council of Nobility, HsDHHRA Sp 87b, fol. 63v.*
IMAGE © SUPREME COUNCIL OF NOBILITY THE HAGUE.

to the first two alba. Here Walramus Schellardt speaks not of 'la beaute' but about 'l'Amour' of 'une Damoijselle'.

The frequent occurrence of this poem in various alba, often with though sometimes without the drawing, could indicate that it was just a stereotypical

know / I wish to go beyond the fire that burns me. // (Translation by A.S. Kline (poem 19) via http://petrarch.petersadlon.com/canzoniere.html?poem=19). For a detailed description of the origin of the image (pictura) and the saying about the mosquito and the candle, see Wesseling A., "Devices, proverbs, emblems. Hadrianus Junius' *Emblemata* in the light of Erasmus' *Adagia*", in: Bolzoni L. – Volterrani S. (eds.), *Con parola brieve e con figura. Emblemi e imprese fra antico e moderno* (Pisa: 2008) 106–113. Wesseling shows that the epigram and motto are the result of a combination of several literary ingredients: 'Erasmus' explanation of a Greek adage, a sad theme in Petrarch's *Rime*, a comic poem by Horace, and a serious passage from Valerius Maximus. 'It is the typically humanistic product of an intertextual technique, a playful and ingenious assemblage of motifs, quotations, and reminiscences from various sources' (p. 110).

FIGURE 6.6   *The candle and the fly. Inscription (1606) by Walramus Schellardt Renesse in the album of Joanna Bentinck, part 3. The Hague, Supreme Council of Nobility, HsDHHRA Sp 87c, fol. 40v.*
IMAGE © SUPREME COUNCIL OF NOBILITY THE HAGUE.

inscription, without any personal intentions. The public content is clear at first glance. But the context of one specific album, Joanna Bentinck's (and her circle of friends and family), reveals a hidden transcript. In the beginning of 1583 (or maybe even still in 1582), Floris van Buchorst—as mentioned earlier—inscribed a French and a Dutch song, followed by a drawing of a crowned heart, surrounded by French and Latin sayings. He also inscribed his name twice, once with his motto, 'Je l'attendray'. The heart and the patient waiting are two major themes in both songs. In the Dutch song there is mention of a young lady who keeps the heart of her lover captive.[38] It cannot be determined on the basis of this text alone if, for Floris, this woman coincided with Joanna Bentinck. However, a commentator wrote comments to several inscriptions that show not all entries are just clichés. It is not yet clear who the commentator was, but it was likely a man in Joanna's close surroundings (a man who is

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38   Oosterman, "Die ik mijn hart" 199.

in love with her, or her father, or maybe a brother?). The commentator wrote fifteen comments. He is remarkably unkind when it comes to love poems in Joanna's album. He writes a mocking remark after a few pages with love songs by Wulf van Ittersum (fol. 8r), but the most fierce is the commentary on Floris van Buchorst: 'Sir, I've noticed from all your beautiful words / That Miss Joanna Bentinck had caught your heart'.[39] Malicious pleasure seems to shine through another comment on a text by Floris: 'To wait long and not enjoy / will make Floris van Buchorst sad.'[40]

But the commentator seems to accept the love that Floris felt for Joanne when he comments on the French song Floris entered: 'Monsieur il me semble qu'avez trouve Ce que nostre coeur a long temps cherche' and after the Dutch song he wrote: 'Sir, you ventured to court her with true love and faithfulness / everyone who does the same will have no regrets.'[41]

Extremely nice is his reaction jotted beside the first stanza of a song in which excessive drinking is condemned. The song was written by Joanna herself in 1583 and the commentator states [Fig. 6.7]:

> Miss, you are definitely lucky
> for you have found such a nice man
> who drinks moderately
> And always walks sober on the streets
> God must give him happiness and prosperity
> And after this eternal life.[42]

The latter comments suggest that Floris—if he is in fact the 'nice man,' which can be carefully derived from the chronology of the inscriptions—had been in love with Joanna for some time and now seems to have (the prospect of) success. In any case, the anonymous comments make clear that, according to this commentator, Floris's contributions should not be seen as (just) literary fiction

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39 'Jonckheer ick mercke well uith alle uwe woorden schone / Dat Juffer Joanna Bentyncke ihn u harte spant die croone' (fol. 25r).

40 'Lange tho wachtenn unnd niet tho genieten / Soll Floris van Buchorst well haest verdrieten'.

41 'Jonckheer ghij hebt het gewaecht in rechter liefd end trouwen / Al die gene die oick doen die sal het niet berouwen.'

42 'Juffrou ghij sijt geluckich wel te degen / Dat ghij sulcken fijne man hebt gecregen / Die niet en drinckt dan soberlick midt maten / Und altijt nuchteren gaet over die straeten / Godt moet hem geluck en voerspoet geven / Und hijr namals dat eewige leven.' Album of Joanna Bentinck, part II, The Hague, Supreme Council of Nobility, Collection Van Spaen, inv.nr. 87b, fol. 52v.
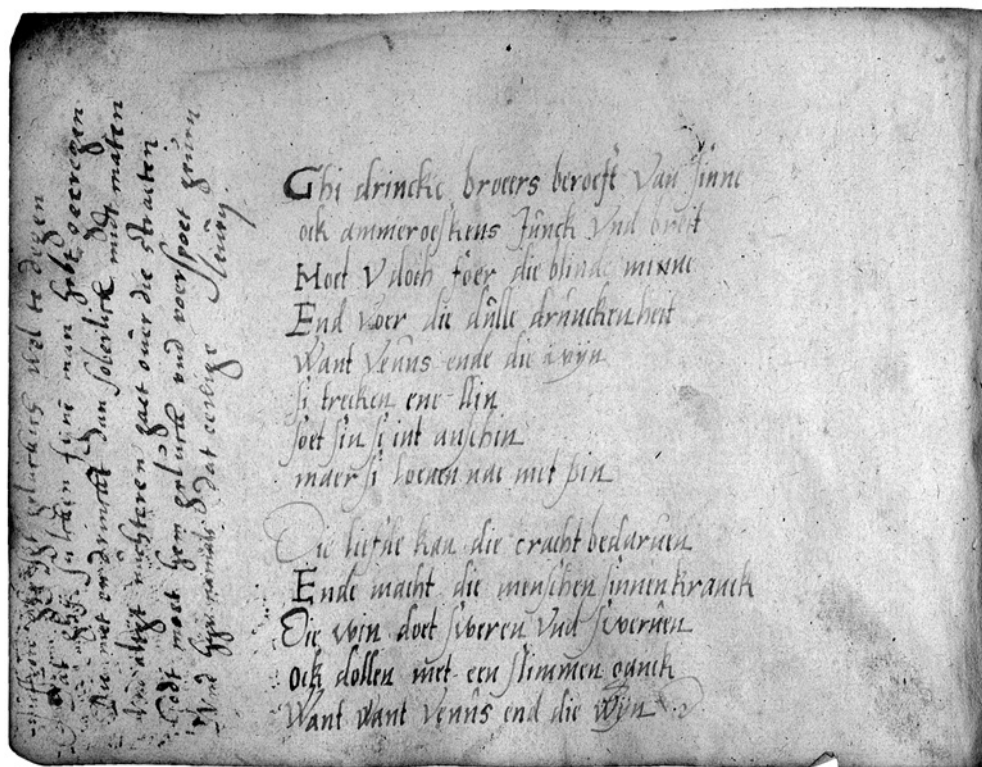
FIGURE 6.7   *Inscription (1583) by Joanna Bentinck in her own album, with comment from*
            someone else. The Hague, Supreme Council of Nobility, HsDHHRA Sp 87b, fol. 52v.
            IMAGE © SUPREME COUNCIL OF NOBILITY THE HAGUE.

or as clichéd inscriptions, but as containing biographical elements. Knowing this, Floris's inscription of the candle and the fly, which seems standard at first sight, receives a different, more personal connotation as well. Joanna married Floris in 1585; the fly conquered his candle?

There are many more examples of (personal) comments like this, triggered by seemingly standard inscriptions. In the album of Marie van Marnix for example, Leonora Junius explains her motto in an anagram.[43] After the first line 'Mein Gott ich beger kein gelt' a woman added 'Gib mir aber ain jungen gesellen der mir gefelt'. The album of Margaretha van Mathenesse has a comment below the entry by Joffrau Mechelen and J. van Hardenbrouck: 'Whoever

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43   London, British Museum, Sloane Add. nr. 851, fol. 77v.

wrote this is very drunk'.[44] The album of Margaretha also contains a small poem about a daisy ('Margriet' in Dutch):

> La belle Marguerite est une noble fleur
> Prenez quelle est petite elle est de grand valeur
> Elle est prospecte et si n'a point d'amer
> La plus belle fleurette qu'au mond puis trouuer.[45]

It could be that the inscriber is playing with the name 'Marguerite', but there is no way of proving this. Unassailable proof is, of course, the major problem with this kind of tempting research on hidden transcript-scenarios. Even in the case of Floris van Buchorst we cannot be completely sure he planned a hidden message behind his stereotyped inscriptions full of Petrarchan love conventions and images that were recycled in many alba. And if he did, we do not know which members of the peer group actually 'got' this. In other alba the hidden transcript will be even more obscure, because of the absence of commentary. As long as such inside information is lacking, it is impossible to break the code. Even so, I presume that many inscriptions in women's alba that at first sight seem standard, had different connotations within different groups of friends and family around the album, as around a Facebook page. Carmen wrote positive song lyrics to convey negative feelings, Floris posted a positive poem to—we may assume—convey positive feelings. When historic inscriptions are studied within the specific context of the album, within the peer group in which they functioned and in dialogue with the inscriptions around them, sometimes traces of other connotations can be uncovered, but in most cases we can never find the key to see the differences between plain and hidden intentions of inscriptions written four hundred years ago.

Sharing Seems to be in Our DNA: From Individual Towards Group Identities

Instead of trying to reveal hidden love stories of individuals, future research into identity issues in the women's alba should be focused primarily on *group*

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44   'Wie dit geschreven heeft is heel teut' (pages in this album are not numbered).

45   Album amicorum of Margaretha van Mathenesse (Arnhem, Archive of Gelre, Huisarchief Waardenburg en Neerijnen, inv.nr. 2118), fol. 46r. Anonymous contribution.

identities and *shared cultural content*. Alba amicorum reveal a group identity by displaying the owners' and the contributors' literary and musical taste, and the atmosphere of their conversation. Women's alba amicorum 'caught' what was in the wind: what poems, what songs, what idioms were whirling around and exchanged within a certain, more or less traceable group. These women's alba are pivotal for the goals and sociability in the life of the nobility and provide a unique opportunity to study what these circles enjoyed and found appropriate. Furthermore, they mirror how literature functioned in everyday life.

In this context, we should definitely study the link between women's alba and the printed songbooks and emblem books that became very popular at the turn of the seventeenth century. The popularity of these printed songbooks was connected to the public life of well-to-do young adults, a group that could afford to be engaged in love and everything that comes with it. The printed books were full of advice on what to say and what to do when courting.[46] Likely, these printed songbooks met rather than created a need, one already in existence, as we see in the earliest women's alba amicorum: the need of young people for spaces for socializing with peers, a unique social space of their own, somewhat separate from the adult world, where they can create and maintain a community around their own interests, values and favorite songs; to work out identity and status, make sense of cultural cues, and negotiate public life.

Even if printers with commercial interests jumped into the 'courting business' and produced standard books for the youth, the alba are unique sources because they show a glimpse of the everyday interactions with songs, texts and pictures. Alba are a unique record of a young noblewoman's social circle. Adolescents kept alba then because they needed youth space, a place to gather and see and be seen by peers. Similarly, young people are creating digital publics (digital public lives) now. These spaces are critical to the coming-of-age narrative for a variety of purposes, including gossip, supporting or attacking one another, jockeying for status, collaborating, sharing information, flirting, joking, and goofing around as well as negotiating identity. In short, social network mapping services provide an essential framework for building cultural knowledge.

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46   See for example: Grootes, E.K., "Het jeugdig publiek van de 'nieuwe liedboeken' in het eerste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw.", in: W. van den Berg – J. Stouten (red.), *Het woord aan de lezer. Zeven literatuurhistorische verkenningen* (Groningen: 1987) 72–88.

In this article I performed a comparative analysis of social media by bringing history into media studies and modern media into history. The comparison tells something about young women and men four hundred years ago, but also about ourselves. Group identities develop around and are reinforced by the collective tastes and attitudes of those who identify with the group. The groups around social network mapping services then and now share common values that are based on, intensified and affirmed through social contact, and articulated and affirmed through the process of sharing songs and other inscriptions and making the network visible. Cliques of close, dense relationships provide members with a sense of belonging and a basis to form their identity. Nowadays we seem to live in a 'cut and paste culture', a culture of file sharing. Marcus Boon, in *In Praise of Copying*, goes so far as to claim that copying is an essential part of being human. He argues that the ability to copy is worthy of celebration, and states that we can neither understand the world we live in nor ourselves, without recognizing how integral copying is to being human. Women's alba amicorum with their collection of copied songs, shared poems and traveling (between alba) of images, seem to validate Boon's claim that copying and sharing 'seems to be in our DNA'.[47]

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47   Boon M., *In Praise of Copying* (Cambridge, MA: 2010).

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The Many Shades of Love: Possessors and Inscribers of Sixteenth-Century Women's Alba

Clara Strijbosch*

Alba Amicorum with Songs

Compared to the well-researched Dutch seventeenth century, the literary and cultural landscape of the sixteenth-century Netherlands is relatively unknown. To be sure, parts of the Netherlands suffered from skirmishes during the war against Spanish government. However, culture was not dead. In the twilight between 'medieval darkness' and the Golden Age, people did still write, paint, and sing. Activities like these are reflected in a certain group of largely unexplored handwritten sources of sixteenth-century cultural life: alba amicorum. Such 'friends' books' were very popular in the Netherlandish and German areas from the middle of the sixteenth century and flowered up to 1800.[1] Predecessor of the alba was the *Stammbuch* (family book), filled with coats of arms; its main function was to testify to the right of nobles to take part in tournaments.[2] Sixteenth-century alba are to be considered a late-medieval playful form of this

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1 For an introduction to the genre of sixteenth-century alba amicorum see the contribution Reinders S., "'Social Networking is in our DNA': Women's Alba Amicorum as Places to Build and Affirm Group Identities" in this volume. On students' alba see Heesakkers C.L. – Thomassen K., in coll. with Ekkart R., "Het album amicorum in de Nederlanden", in Thomassen K. (ed.), *Alba Amicorum. Vijf eeuwen vriendschap op papier gezet. Het album Amicorum en het poëziealbum in de Nederlanden* (Maarssen – The Hague: 1990) 9–11. In German research the alba amicorum with songs is known as 'Liederstammbuch' (see Brednich R.W., *Die Darfelder Liederhandschrift 1546–1565* (Münster: 1976) 47.

2 Tervooren H., "Buch und Literatur als Medium adeliger Repräsentation und Geselligkeit im Raum von Rhein, Maas und IJssel im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert", in Driel M. van – Pohl M. – Walter B. (eds.), *Adel verbindet – Adel verbindt. Elitebildung und Standeskultur in Nordwestdeutschland und den Niederlanden vom 15. bis 20. Jahrhundert. Elitevorming en standscultuur in Noordwest-Duitsland en de Nederlanden van de 15e tot de 20e eeuw* (Paderborn – Münich – Vienna – Zürich: 2010) 69–83, here 79.

type of collection.[3] The first sixteenth-century alba were owned by students and often many different people entered inscriptions on the pages, varying from coats of arms or other drawings to short texts like mottos and proverbs. This article will focus on a specific group of alba amicorum: the books from the Dutch-speaking and adjoining German areas written before 1600 containing songs (listed in Appendix 1, 203–204).[4]

Though alba with songs bear some resemblance to students' alba, they differ in several respects, apart from the inclusion of songs: usually they were in the possession of women; coats of arms do not form the main body of entries; the standard language is not Latin but the vernacular; and they often contain small embellishments like knotted initials, flowers, love knots and hearts [Fig. 7.1]. The dominant theme is love. This is already clear from the many drawings with hearts, and is underscored by numerous proverbs about love and of course by love songs. As is the case with other entries, songs in alba were written in several languages: French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and the vernacular Dutch or German. Though the use of languages in alba is in itself a topic for further research, this article concentrates on songs with texts in the Dutch or German vernacular, which are the main body of entries in most women's alba originating from the Low Countries.[5]

Because of their special characteristics, sixteenth-century alba with songs form an intriguing corpus for the study of the connection between song and

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3   Brednich, *Darfelder Liederhandschrift* 41.

4   The adjoining German areas are Westfalia, Eastern Frisia and the Rhineland. For a survey of alba and their area of origin see Strijbosch C., "Vrouw maan, blijf staan. Wereldlijke liederenverzamelingen van de zestiende eeuw", in Grijp L.P. – Willaert F. (eds.), *De fiere nachtegaal. Het Nederlandse lied in de middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: 2008) 269–297, esp. Appendix 1, 288–290. Alba which are left out in this article and in calculations are those which contain only a limited number (at the most three) of Middle Dutch or German songs: the alba of Marie de Bekercke, Henricus van der Borch, Anna de Hertoghe, Jeanne de Horne, Quirine de Horne and Marie de Marnix from the Southern Netherlands, the Album Ariaenke de Gyselaer from Holland and the Frisian Album of Hiskia van Harinxma; for alba with songs a last date of ca. 1620 would do more justice to historical developments. However, in the Dutch Song Database (Liederenbank, see www.liederenbank.nl) no alba between 1600–1620 with a substantial number of songs have been processed. Because numbers in this article have been based on information in this database, the inclusion of alba between 1600 and 1620 would have distorted calculations. Therefore they have not been taken into account. An exceptional case is de Album Philippe d'Auxy, written before 1600. The number of 8 songs is enough for inclusion, but because these songs are of a completely different character and repertoire, this album is also left out in the calculations and in this study.

5   Frijhoff W., *Meertaligheid in de Gouden Eeuw. Een verkenning,* Mededelingen van de Afdeling Letterkunde [van de KNAW] n.s. 73 2 (2010), esp. 24–25.
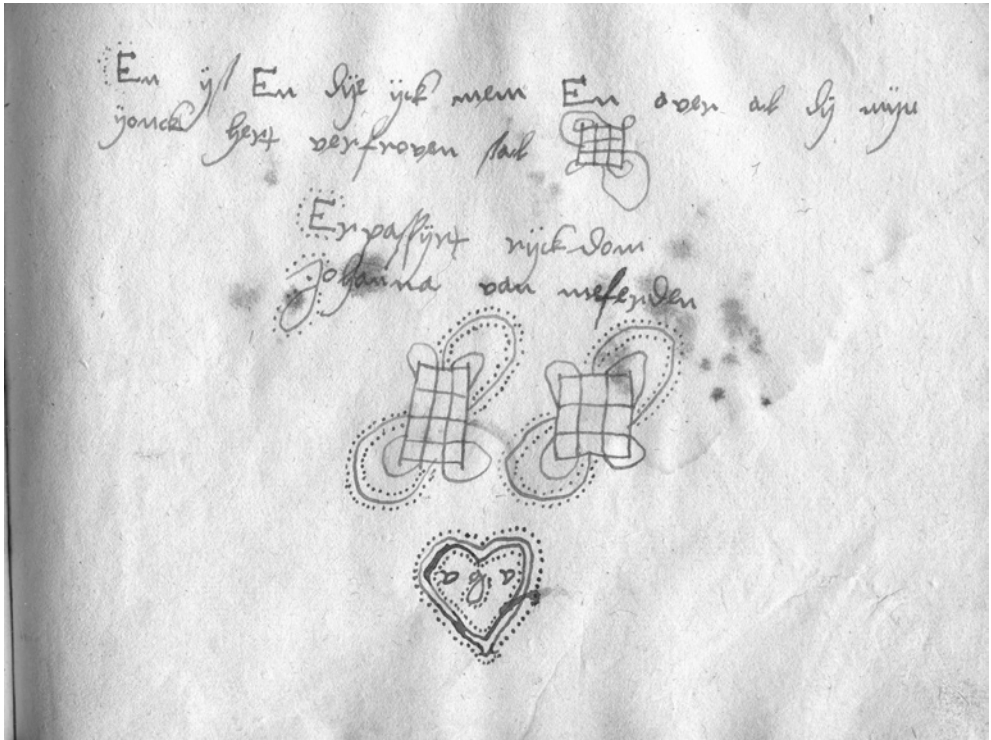
FIGURE 7.1   *Small drawings and the motto 'Er passijrt rijckdom' ('Honour surpasses money').*
Album Maria van Besten. Zwolle, Stedelijk Museum, Ms. 773, fol. 57r.
IMAGE © STEDELIJK MUSEUM ZWOLLE.

group identity. Many alba and the contributions in them can be traced to iden-
tifiable people, which offers a possibility to study the relation between songs
and life. Alba with songs usually contain contributions and writings of many
inscribers, from a few as five hands to as many as two hundred. Alba contain so
much material from so many people in so many different hands, that the whole
may seem overwhelming. Songs are usually the more substantial texts in these
alba—a fact which reveals how short most inscriptions are.

These sixteenth-century alba with songs have been the subject of a few
studies on individual collections as well as a few surveys.[6] Many have never

6   The article which opened up the field on the whole range of women's alba is Delen M.-A.,
    "Frauenalben als Quelle. Frauen und Adelskultur im 16. Jahrhundert", in Klose W. (ed.),
    Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts (Wiesbaden: 1989) 75–93. For a survey on now known alba
    and studies on separate alba see Strijbosch C. "Hinter dem schwarzen Loch. Das weltliche

been edited and occasionally other alba are still being discovered; the out-
line of the corpus is thereby still changing.[7] Because alba are a relatively new
subject in research, a series of desiderata will be defined to propose points of
access to these rich sources. Many of them are not, or only partially, available
in digital form. Research desideratum 1 would be to make facsimiles of all alba
digitally available. This would greatly enhance deciphering the—often very
difficult—handwriting. Digitally available facsimiles would also make the alba
known more broadly and would help to clarify the picture of the dissemina-
tion of this type of books.

In this article the complicated relationship between alba with songs and
their connection to the lives of their collectors will be researched. The first
part will be devoted to the intricacies of establishing a historically grounded
environment for each book, which would reveal characteristics of the many
contributors as well as the owner, often over a longer period of time. In the
second part alba with songs will be situated in the literary and cultural land-
scape of the sixteenth century.

Multiple Contributions, Multiple Identities

Most alba with songs consisted of a gathering of pages in which a woman (or
sometimes, a man) collected contributions from the people around her: family,
friends, acquaintances. Research desideratum 2 would be a survey of material
aspects of the books. Such a survey would take into account the hands and
their relation to the contents; the relationship between the alba covers and
what is collected in the book; the nature of the relationship between the folia,
in particular whether parts of the book were assembled after having been filled
or were bound together from the beginning. Such a study would enable us to
map the process by which these books came into being, and thereby better
understand their role in the lives of their owners, a role which often spanned
several decades.

More than one book seems to have developed into an album amicorum only
at a later stage (like the Darfeld Songbook and perhaps the Album Beaumont);
sometimes a gathering of coats of arms may have been the starting point.

Lied des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Bastert B. – Tervooren H. – Willaert F. (eds.), *Dialog mit den
Nachbarn. Mittelniederländische Literatur zwischen dem 12. und 16. Jahrhundert.* Sonderheft
zu Bd. 130 der *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* (2011) 81–93, esp. 83–86.

7   One of the latest discoveries of an album before 1600 has been the finding in 2004 of Album
Pieck, which is still privately owned (I thank Sophie Reinders for this information).

Alba with songs may well have functioned as a kind of guest book intended to gather on paper the contributions of a particular social circle. Sometimes pages were filled on a particular festive occasion. It may have happened that during such convivialities the book was passed around. Alba were most likely not repertoire books for entertainment at gatherings: in that case they would have been filled in a more organized manner for greater ease of use.[8]

The way a collection of pages developed into an album of course influences the impression of the identity of a book and its collector. Also revealing is the point at which the book was bound. If this happened before use, it may have been a gift, in which case the first person who inscribed or gathered contributions would have been someone other than the possessor. If the book was bound afterwards, it is probable that the (last) possessor was responsible for the binding and for a part of the contributions.

The multiplicity of contributions intensifies the problem of the individual characteristics of the alba. It is not clear at first sight whose books these are and whose personal characteristics or preferences they may reflect. This problem is complicated by the fact that in all contributions, also in songs, at least three layers should be discerned. There is the author (or inventor), the person who copied (from a written source or from hearsay or memory) and finally the possessor of the book. These three layers can be a single one for parts of the books. If Herbert Beaumont—one of the few male possessors of an album with songs—inserted his device 'Look before you leap' ('Raet voor daet') below an otherwise unknown song "Fickle Fortune" ("Fortuijne onghestadich", fol. 54r) in his book, it is not impossible that he was the author of the song which he himself wrote down in his own book. However, this is an exception. Especially in women's books the three layers of compilation were divided among at least two or three persons: author, scribe and possessor were usually different people, of whom in most cases the scribe and the possessor knew each other quite well, and were even closely connected. The author is usually somebody else, very often someone unknown. How much the possessor actually wrote down in her (or his) own book varies: some women noted down the major part of their book (like in the Darfeld Songbook or maybe in Album Beers), in some

8   On the use of the songs in the alba see also Strijbosch, "Hinter dem schwarzen Loch" 89–93. The practical use of the books as repertoires to be used at song gatherings is not only unlikely because of the absence of any order (be it chronological, alphabetical, on author or on type of contribution), but simply because of the fact many of them were written in barely legible handwriting and in very small books, which makes reading by more than two people simultaneously virtually impossible.

other books (Album Stepraedt) the writing of the owner is much less visible.[9] Where exactly the border between a songbook and an album with songs should be drawn, is not yet clear. A minimum number of different scribes and/or the lack of a clear collector's hand could be distinctive features.

The identity of possessors and scribes is the more interesting, because the very appearance of these books suggests a close contact between life and literature. They are handwritten at a time when print was more usual, and they contain names, inscriptions and coats of arms of many persons whose family data or even individual biographical facts can be traced.[10] Usually the inscribers and possessors belonged to the lower nobility from the Eastern Netherlands or adjoining Western German regions. Reading the pages, one gets the impression of having a close encounter with living sixteenth-century people. As Marie-Ange Delen observed in her ground-breaking article of 1989: the manuscripts contain a personal message to the possessor of the album, but on the other hand inscribers write themselves into the public eye because many others will read what they write.[11] Alba contain a fascinating 'playful tension between private and public'.[12] In alba-research (usually concentrating on one individual album) the combination of 'historical reality' and 'love' has proven very attractive. Usually it is supposed that the book was not only in the possession of a woman, but also that it was given to her as a present by one of her lovers and/or that the core of it consists of love songs written for this woman by her main suitor. A scenario like this has been proposed for the album of Joanna Bentinck, who is thought to have been courted passionately

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9   In the Darfeld Songbook owner Kathryna wrote the first stock of 19 songs (Brednich, *Darfelder Liederhandschrift* 19). Album Stepraedt contains Walraven van Stepraedt's intials on the cover and at two other places in the book, but otherwise on 162 written pages the contributions of some 200 people—one containing an acrostichon on her name.

10   For alba being handwritten at a time when print was more usual, see the short survey in Poel D. van der, "Exploring Love's Options: Song and Youth Culture in the Sixteenth Century Netherlands" in this volume.

11   Delen, "Frauenalben" 89; on Album Giblant Dieuwke van der Poel (in this volume) writes: 'On the whole, the collection creates an impression of intimacy" (Van der Poel, "Exploring Love's Options" 235.

12   Joldersma H., "The Gift of Beaufitul Words. Women's Alba Amicorum. Manuscripts from the Eastern Netherlands, 1546–1609", in Gemert L. van – Joldersma H. – Marion O. van – Poel D. van der – Schenkeveld-van der Dussen M.A. (eds.), *Women's Writing from the Low Countries 1200–1875. A bilingual Anthology* (Amsterdam: 2010) 191.

for many years by Floris van Buckhorst. She finally married him. By writing in her book over several years he is said to testify the steadfastness of his feelings.[13]

Though it is plausible that parts of alba amicorum were used as instruments in courtship, this was not their only use. It is a seductive but simplifying shortcut to consider them the reflection of the 'love of a life'-story. Many of the books contain several core stories and there is not a 'one-to-one' relationship between the love songs and real-life love. The complexities and multiplicity of the contents of alba and their relation to life will hereafter be discussed along three lines: the writing over a span of time, writing by many people and the omnipresence of the love theme.

Writing over a Span of Time

At first glance it is clear that most alba contain information on the places where and dates when certain contributions were written, on possible contributors and on possessors. This information is rarely unequivocal. To get a grip on the complexities some inventories should be made: a reliable survey of data and places mentioned in the alba (research desideratum 3), information which should be linked to clues about possession in the alba: initials and names on the cover or in the book, acrostics and clear possession remarks (research desideratum 4).[14] The following examples might illustrate that it is not sufficient to base notions of ownership and situation of time and place on one or two inscriptions: Herbert van Beaumont's album is, after the first series of songs signed by Beaumont, partly devoted to and partly inscribed by a

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13   Oosterman J., "Die ik mijn hart wil geven. Het album van Joanna Bentinck en de zestiende-eeuwse vrouwenalba", *Literatuur* 19 (2002) 194–202, esp. 198–199. That an album was a gift from a rejected suitor to owner Anna Steyn has been proposed in Leerintveld A., "Het liedboek voor Anna Steyn. Gekalligrafeerde liefdesliederen en de receptie van gedrukte liedboeken uit het begin van de zeventiende eeuw", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 128 (2012) 20–31, esp. 24–26; this album has not been taken into account in this article because it has been written after 1600. On Album Giblant Dieuwke van der Poel (in this volume) writes, more balanced: 'these amateur poets present themselves in their work as her [Aefgen's] suitors' (Van der Poel, "Exploring Love's Options" 234).

14   A small overview: possession remarks on the first folium are to be found in Album Beers and Album Giblant. Names and/or initials on covers in the Album Bentinck (b and c), Album Giblant (see Fig. 7.7, Van der Poel, "Exploring Love's Options"), Album Renesse and Album Wassenaer. See for information on covers the description of the manuscripts in the Dutch Song Database.
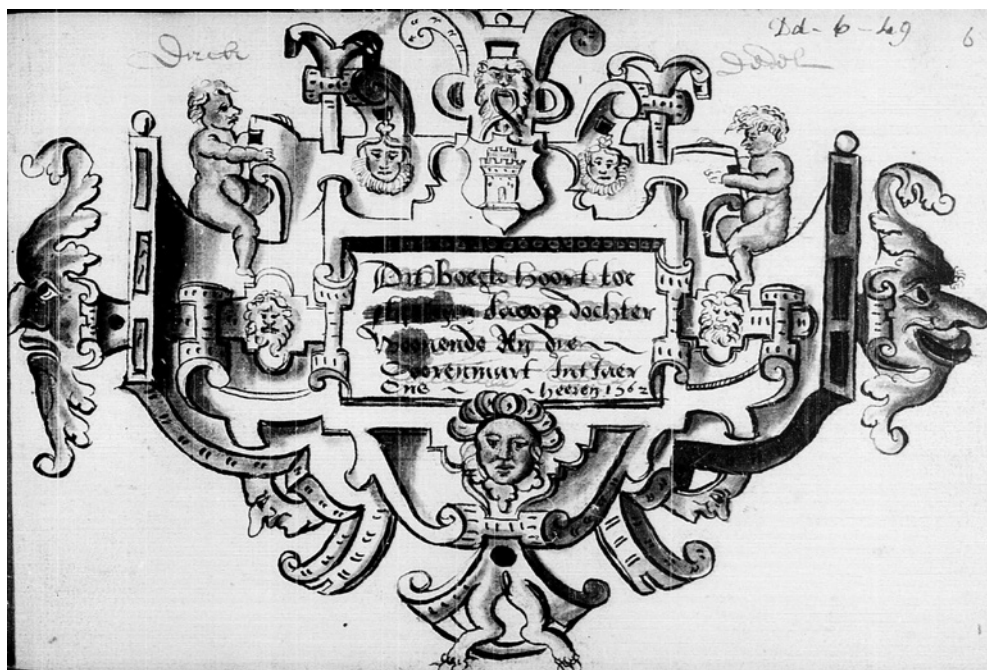
FIGURE 7.2 *Possession mark Album Styntgen Jacopsdr. Cambridge, University Library, Dd.6.49,*
fol. 6r.
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE.

woman, Maria de Wit, whose connection to Beaumont is unknown. Walraven
van Stepraedt's book, which contains contributions of some 200 inscribers,
was continued many years after her death. A note like 'This book belongs to
Styntgen, Jacops daughter, who lives at the Corn Market, in the Year 1562' looks
promising [Fig. 7.2]; unfortunately, even with this rather precise information
where and when the book was written cannot be decided, because it is not
clear where this Corn Market is to be situated, and the date 1562 is mentioned
only on this page. The second part was filled more than thirty years after the
first, among other things with songs.[15] It is not clear what the relationship
between the two parts of the book is and if Styntgen Jacops filled both parts
herself.[16] Album Overijssel, written between 1551–1590, was in the possession

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15   Fol. 6r 'Dit boeck hoort toe styntgen Jacop dochter woonende an die coorenmart int Jaer
      ons heeren 1562'; On fol. 34r, in the second part, is written: 'Chansons anno mcccccxcix'.

16   The similiarity of the handwriting in the two parts suggests she did. Intriguing questions
      are which event urged Styntgen Jacops to add songs thirty years later and where she found

of Margaretha Haghen from Vollenhove, who probably inherited it from her mother, Ida van Welvelde. For a while it may have been in the possession of Ida's brother, Evert van Welvelde. Probably it was started in the family house of the Welveldes in Borne (near Hengelo in the Netherlands) or perhaps in Barlo, the family house of the Diepenbrocks (Lower Rhine Area near Bocholt, close to the south-eastern Dutch border), and afterwards taken to Vollenhove, near Zwolle in the Netherlands.[17] In the case of the famous Darfeld Songbook Kathryna von Bronchorst started writing songs in her book in 1546 at a rather young age, probably in her parental home, House Honnepel (close to Kalkar).[18] However, contributions to it did not stop after her marriage, which brought her to the Netherlands, and were continued after the death of her Dutch husband in 1576. The book contains Dutch texts up to 1586 and, from the end of the sixteenth century, contributions from the Lower Rhine Area.[19] The geographic area of the family houses of inscribers ranges from the north of the Netherlands up to Münster and down to Cologne, Brussels and Lüttich.[20]Also the book of Joanna Bentinck, which consists of three volumes, was filled over a span of time (1575–1609), in different places in the central Eastern part of the Netherlands.[21]

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them. Intriguing as well are the similarities with Album Giblant, with which Jacops's Album shares four out of nine songs. This suggests Jacops and Giblant knew each others alba or at least they were in contact with the same cultural circles.

17 Mensema A.J., "Het Overijssels Liedboek, 1551–1590", *Overijsselse Historische Bijdragen. Verslagen en mededelingen van de Vereniging tot beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis* 112 (1997) 67–69. If Ida van Welvelde was raised in Borne or Barlo is not clear.

18 On the location of the family house of Kathryna see Tervooren, "Buch und literatur" 75 n. 15. So the Darfeld Songbook and Album Overijssel originated in the same years in the same region, which means Album Overijssel and its inscribers may have been an important vehicle for the transfer of songs to the North-Western parts of the Netherlands.

19 Brednich, *Darfelder Liederhandschrift* 18–22. The name 'Darfelder Liederhandschrift' is taken from the place where it is kept, House Darfeld (Westfalia). That is not where it originated. Tervooren H., "Hybride Formen des Tageliedes in der nordwestlichen Germania des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Schausten M. (ed.), *Das lange Mittelalter. Imagination—Transformation—Analyse. Ein Buch für Jürgen Kühnel*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 763 (Göppingen: 2011) pp. 37–38 n. 35 proposes therefore to call the book 'Album Kathryna von Bronchorst und Batenborch' (following a suggestion in Brednich, *Darfelder Liederhandschrift* 22).

20 Tervooren, "Buch und Literatur" 77.

21 Joanna was born in Zwolle, lived with her first husband Floris in House Buckhorst (near Zalk, between Zwolle and Kampen) and with her second husband in House 't Velde (near Zutphen); in Delen M.-A., "Vrouwenalba in de zestiende en vroege zeventiende eeuw", in

Writing by Many Individuals

The books belonged to certain historically identifiable individuals of whom we know, or can find out, where and when they lived, whose children they were and whom they married. To retrieve this information and to delineate circles of possessors and inscribers is one of the attractive aspects of investigating alba. For some alba it has already been determined who the possessors were, others lie waiting. Some covers and many pages contain data, names, mottos or initials. In combination with available historical information these would likely give a much better picture of the time, regions and contributors than is currently available. Research desideratum 5 is a survey of inscribers, their coats of arms, their historical background and their networks: which people knew each other and had a fair chance to borrow texts, drawings and songs from each other?[22] An interesting but—once more—complicating factor is the presence of acrostics, which may hint at real, existing people. Usually in case of acrostics the problem of identification of the possessor is shifted, not solved. It is not always clear if an acrostic hints at the maker or at the person to whom a song is dedicated.[23]

In most cases all kinds of details must be combined to get a complete picture. Even when it is clear who possessed the book, it is not obvious if he or she was the collector; and if we know the collector, that does not mean we know what influence he or she had on the contents. In most books he or she was

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Thomassen, *Alba amicorum* 134 also inscriptions from Middachten (near Arnhem) are mentioned.

22   The availability of manuscripts and archival sources on the internet will make this research much easier. For some of the alba important work has been done: see Brednich, *Darfelder Liederhandschrift* 18–22, 41–45; Doorninck E.H. van, "Album Amicorum van Walraven van Stepraedt", *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen Vereeniging Gelre* 16 (1913) 359–361, 413–416 (on Album Stepraedt) and Mensema, "Overijssels Liedboek", 67–72, 77 (on Album Overijssel). On networks of inscribers see also Reinders, "'Social Networking is in our DNA'" in this volume 150–177.

23   A far from exhaustive survey of problematic acrostics: Album Beaumont contains several acrostichics for several women, among them one for Maria de Wit Nicolaesdochter Wits (fol. 126v) who probably owned the album after Beaumont; Album Beers, fol. 89r has a song with acrostics on Isabel/Ludger; the acrostic 'Aefgen Claes dochter van Giblant' in Album Giblant, fol. 59v may hint at the writer or at the person to whom the contribution is dedicated; the acrostic 'Renesse' on fol. 26r in Album Renesse seems unequivocal; however, the same acrostic is to be found (in the same song) in the older Darfeld Songbook (fol. 55v–56r).

not the only inscriber, usually not even the most important contributor. Even less certain is how much redaction the possessors exerted. Did they devise a lay-out (which could be as simple as presenting an empty page to write on), ask for certain themes of songs or reject others? Did they add comments and were they responsible for erasing certain parts? Most books contain inscriptions by many hands (more than 200, in the case of the Album Stepraedt), varying from minimal contributions like initials to elaborate drawings or a series of songs. There are also pages on which several people have written [Fig. 7.3]. And there are brief comments on the texts inscribed in the book, sometimes with a name, sometimes from an unknown contributor. These vary from envious remarks like 'Young man, you are very much in love [or: badly smitten], but I will make sure [or: I fear] that it will do you no good / it will get you nowhere' to remarks like 'Honour surpasses money', which appear in several alba.[24] Sometimes it is hard to decide if comments are meant as a reaction to what is written, or if they are there simply because someone did not have anything else at hand to write down. For example, it is not easy to interpret the following: on fol. 24v a certain Derk van Brienen (spelled: 'Bryenen') writes in the Album Besten: 'faithfullness in unity' ('ynt eenych getrou'), which is commented on by Maria van Besten, probably the owner of the album, with the words: 'faithful and unified is rarely found' ('getrou vnt eijnnijch / vynt men weynnijch'). On the same page a certain Anna van Voerst writes: 'God above all' ('godt boewen ael'), a saying which is one of the most standard expressions in alba amicorum (usually abbreviated to G.B.A.). Did Anna write this remark to show Derk and Maria that human quarrelling is subsidiary to God, or did she only write it down because her repertoire was limited? A list of proverbs and sayings (research desideratum 6) would offer the possibility of seeing if a saying was one of the common stock or unique—the latter makes it more probable the inscription really is a comment and not just page filler—, and to identify the many abbreviations in sayings.

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24   'Jonckheer ghij sijt amoureux uithermaeten / maer ick sorge ten sal u niet baten' (Album Bentinck 2, not foliated); 'Honour surpasses money' appears several times in Album Stepraedt: fol. 78v 'Eer boven goet', Jochmyna van Wyhe; fol. 82v 'Honneur surpasse richesse', Alexandrina de Bentinck; fol. 92v 1605 and fol. 99v 1606 'Hon(n)eur passe richesse', Jochmyna van Wyhe; variations in fol. 101v 'Contantement passe richesse', 1599 Johan Turck; fol. 105v 'Er passeyrt rijckdom', 1599 Johanna van Meverden; she also writes the same proverb in Album Besten, fol. 57r.
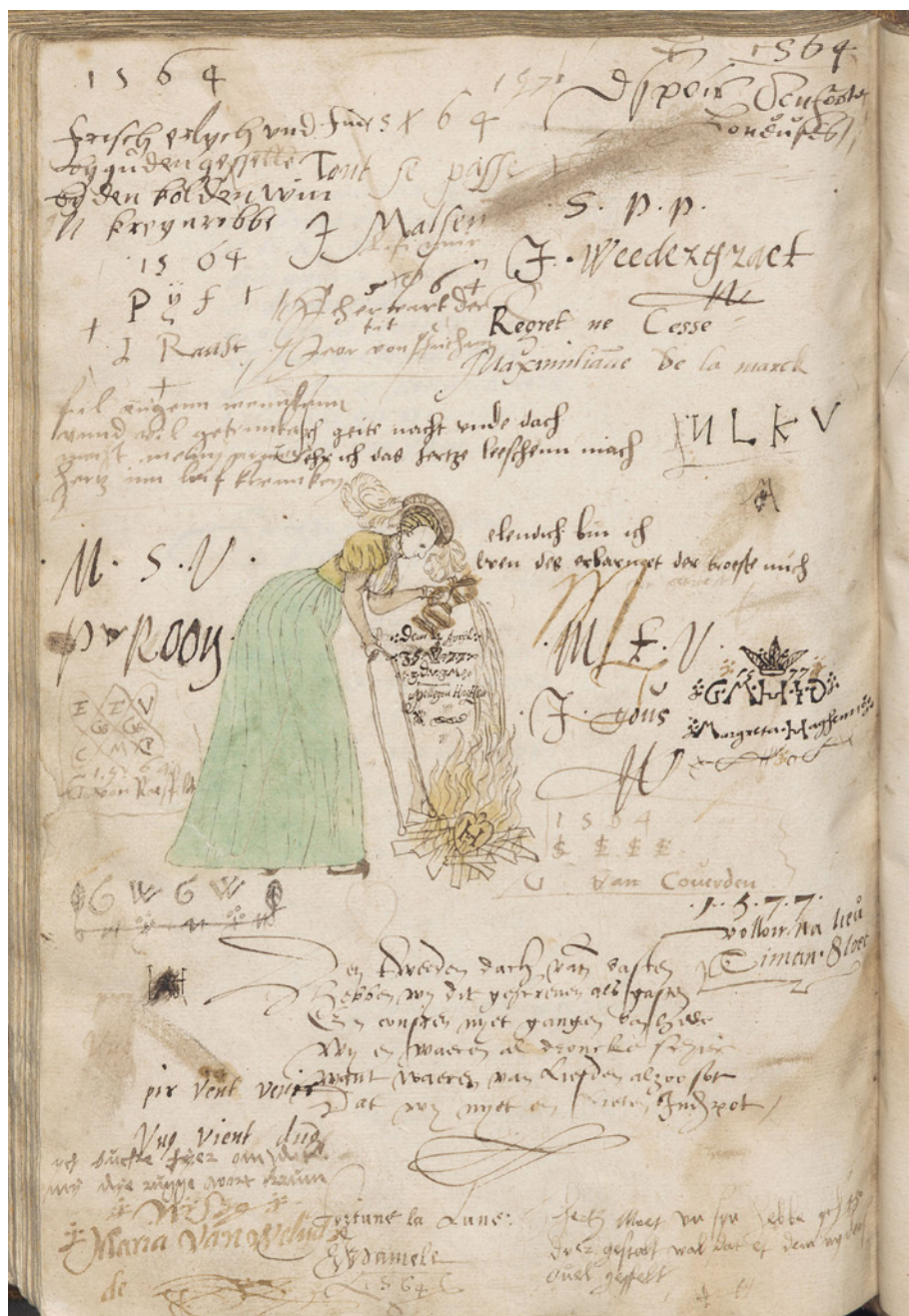
FIGURE 7.3 *Page inscribed by many contributors, 1564/1577. Album Overijssel. Leiden, University Library, BPL 2912, fol. 183v.*
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY LIBRARY LEIDEN.

The Love Theme

Even in cases in which it is clear who wrote a certain text and who possessed the book, the contents of a text cannot automatically be connected one-to-one to the life story of scribe and possessor. To put it differently: a love song undersigned by a young man in the book of a young woman does not in itself mean that he was her suitor. Instructive in this regard is the Album Overijssel.[25] This album contains 65 songs, mostly love complaints. One of them (fol. 154r), a lament in the best love-and-left-tradition ('I am born for unhappiness, the one I loved I had to let her go. I will never see her again') is subscribed by Johann Vincke.[26] Most probably he was not the maker of this song, which is also to be found in an elaborate form in several German songbooks, in Album Lynden and in the identical short version in the Darfeld Songbook.[27] Obviously he copied the song either from memory or from reading or hearsay (or better, to coin a term: 'hear-sing'). On fol. 39r he inscribed another love-song: 'Oh separation, separation for ever' (or: 'over and over') ('Ach scheidenn yummer scheiden').Were these songs his gift to Margaretha or Ida to convince them they had wounded his heart and kept doing so? Mother Ida had already been married for many years when this inscription was made—so it is almost certainly not directed at her. Daughter Margaretha, however, would have been a good candidate. Johann Vincke's contributions are not dated, but surrounding inscriptions are from 1577, when Margaretha would have been between 12 and 29, the right age for being surrounded by men writing love songs.[28] This would strengthen the idea that the contribution was written by a suitor who was trying to convince a young lady, in this case Margaretha, of his passionate love.

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25   This album has also been denoted as Album Vollenhove or Album Margaretha Haghen. Because the album probably was not begun by Margaretha and/or in Vollenhove, I prefer the more general denomination 'Album Overijssel'.

26   'Ich bynn der tzo geborenn, das ich keinn geluch sal haenn ich hadde mich einner ausserkorenn das ich sie moess farenn laen […] ich se sei nimmer meher' (Album Overijssel, fol. 154r l. 1–5).

27   In Darfeld Songbook, fol. 98r (nr. 88), Album Lynden, fol. 44. In Darfeld and Album Lynden the text is partly put into the mouth of a woman; in German concordances the I-person is a man and the song has 7 stanzas (Brednich, *Darfelder Liederhandschrift* 256; here also German concordances). However, Darfeld, Lynden and Overijssel have 3 stanzas. This suggests the writer in Overijssel knew the song in the form it had in Darfeld (being the earliest testimony).

28   Ida van Welvelde married in 1547, Margaretha in 1586, to respectively Boldewijn Hagen and Coenraad Sloet, both from Vollenhove (Mensema, "Overijssels Liedboek" 69, 73); these marriage dates suggest Margaretha was born somewhere between 1548 and 1565.

However, that Johann Vincke wrote these songs to present himself as a suitor to Margaretha is doubtful for other reasons. He announces his songs as 'hupsch' (i.e. nice, elegant) or even 'lusstig' ('pleasant, merry'); he adds under his name the line 'Who has little but spends a lot'. Not the type of comment one expects after a love song from a suitor who wishes to introduce himself as a serious candidate. Johann is not the only one who called himself 'the young one, who has little but spends a lot'; a certain Jost van Heckeren provided himself with the same characterization when he subscribed his song with 'Jost van Heckerenn, dass junge blodth ('the young person') daz wennich hath vnnd vil verdoeth' (fol. 201r). Also Jost added his comment to a love song he inscribed, with languishing lines like: 'my sweetest lady, help me, I do not have comfort any more' and 'because of my sincere and steadfast love I cannot forget you'. This, too, is a song which is known from earlier songbooks.[29] Apparently neither Johann nor Jost made any attempt to present themselves as serious suitors when they inscribed their love songs. Their songs are not to be read as the most intimate expression of the most intimate feelings. What is more telling than the fact they did not end up as the husbands of mother Ida or daughter Margaretha (a fate which may have lain in waiting for many suitors), is apart from the mocking tone of their comments the fact that their love songs are very common. Everyone wrote love songs like these, in all contexts, for all sexes. Of course conventional words or images can be used to express sincere, deep-felt love, but that is not automatically the case. Some examples of love songs written by definitely not passionate lovers: in the same Overijssel Album love complaints were written with incipits like: 'O Lord to whom shall I complain?', 'Love of my heart, every hour full of grief' or 'Because of you I really suffer'. The first one was written by Anna Haghen, Margaretha's sister, in 1572, the latter two by Margaretha herself, in the years 1573 and 1577.[30] In the last year a certain Alynna Mulert (who may be the same person as the woman who wrote as Anna Mülert in the Album Bentinck and in the Album Besten) inserted a song with moving lines like: 'There is no other than your sweetest heart, which

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29   'Vann Edler arth / Einn frowlinn trzaerth / bysst du […] dass hertz ynn myr / krenckt sich na dir / darumb beger / uff diner Er / hilff myr tzo dir ich / hab keinn troest nicht mer […] auss rechter liebe / ich diner nicht vergessen mach' (fol. 201r, l. 1–4 and 12–13). This song is inserted after a contribution from 1569, when Margaretha would have been between 4 and 21 years old.

30   Album Overijssel, fol. 195v. "Ach ghot wen sall ych klagen" ("O Lord to whom shall I lament") 1572 Anna Haghen; fol. 196v "Herz leff voll groes zo aller stund" ("Love of my heart every hour full of grief") Margreta Haghen 1573; fol. 173v: "Um dich leidt ijch ghewisselich" ("Because of you I really suffer"), 1577 Margareta Haghen. Anna Haghen was Margaretha's sister (Mensema, "Overijssels Liedboek" 72).

I love before all other, you are my crown on earth'.[31] Probably she was an aunt or great-aunt of the sisters Haghen. Her contribution could be read as a caring song of an aunt for a niece, but the first three are not very aunt-like: they are love complaints of the conventional type. This general use of love complaints is very common, and usually female inscribers did not change even the standard male I-person into a female one, or the female adressee into a male.[32] Other alba show the same phenomenon. A certain Margrieta Cloeck writes in the book for Maria van Besten, in the last years of the sixteenth century: 'Love of my heart, […] I beg you to hear my complaints. I cannot live without you; your lovely figure makes me happy', concluding with: 'I do not want to weep any more, I hope you will be favourable to me, o sweetest lady …'. To this languishing song she adds the comment: 'In god and in your happiness I often rest my hope'.[33] The same song is found in a Lower Rhinish Songbook from 1574, here subscribed by a man, Wernher von Blanckhart.[34]

Languishing love songs like these were obviously not felt as expressing only the unique, intimate feelings of one male lover for his chosen woman. Women could also write them down, even in their own books, as did Margaretha Haghen; so could aunts, uncles and acquaintances. Love complaints of the conventional type seem to have been what was expected in handwritten books of the alba amicorum-type in the second half of the sixteenth century.

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31   Fol. 186v, dated 1577; the lines are in Album Overijssel barely legible; in the concordant song in Album Besten, fol. 22v they read: 'Dar lef doeck kein dan die harts allerlifste alleynne / De ijch voer anderen mijnne / Du bist mijn kroene <u>alleinne</u> op erden'; Alynna Mülert might be the same woman who writes in 1596 in the Album Besten (fol. 82r) and subscribes with 'Anna Bitters'; in another hand is added: 'alias Mülert nü ['now'] Cloester 1600'; Alijnna Mülert also wrote in 1577 in Album Bentinck (fol. 29v) the song "Mijn herts isst erweldt adde ych faer daer hen" ("My heart is chosen, farewell I am leaving").

32   There are, however, interesting exceptions to this habit. See e.g. the example from the Darfeld Songbook (nr. 88, see note 21) and the changes of a French comment in the same songbook, where in the misogynist verses with the incipit 'Jamais femme fit du bien' ('Never a woman does (something) good') the 'femme' has been substituted by 'homme' (Brednich, *Darfelder Liederhandschrift* 125).

33   Album van Besten, fol. 41r–v: 'Hertzlieff dü bist mein hoerrt / ich bidde verhoer mein klegelich woert [….] ich kan nitt sein ohn dich dein lieblige gestalt / evrowet mich […] ich wil nicht rouwen? [text has: trouwen] meer ich hoff dü wirst / noch meiner begeren o zarte iuncfraw fein / mich weder günstig sein'. Comment: 'In godt vnd dein gelück / stel ich mein hoffnüng dück', Margrieta Cloeck. In Ms. Berlin 612 on fol. 154v–155r (Köpp A., "Die niederrheinische Liederhandschrift (1574)", *Euphorion. Zeitschrift für Litteraturgeschichte* 9 (1902) 631–632).

34   Ms. Berlin 612 (1574–1590), fol. 154v; this song is from 1590, a few years before the inscriptions in Album Besten (1593–1600).

Conventional Love Songs

The first part of this article has been dedicated to the complexities of identification of life and letters in the alba with songs. In the second part these alba will be embedded in their literary and cultural surroundings, starting from the question: what type of contributions from which repertory have been inscribed in the alba? Answering questions like these might help to situate alba, their owners and contributors in sixteenth-century social and cultural circles.

The omnipresent love songs form a good starting point for this research. They are not only the more substantial part of most alba, their coordinates also can be relatively easily researched by using the Dutch Song Database (Liederenbank). No study has yet been written delineating the typical love complaint in Dutch late medieval songbooks—a study of types of love songs in the late Middle Ages in the Netherlands and Germany could be formulated as research desideratum 7. Such a survey could clarify what the standard components of the typical love song in a certain period were and thereby provide the structure to define the (dis)similarity of a specific song to the traditional pattern. A description of love complaints should at least contain a classification of the causes of separation between the lovers, continuing a thread in German research. German scholars have found that before 1400 the love complaints are sung out of a situation in which the love not yet had been realized, after 1400 the situation is that of a reciprocal love, hampered by obstacles caused by other lovers or slanderers, or, otherwise, singers present their suffering with ironic exaggeration.[35] In Doris Sittig's study on German love songs from the fifteenth century most usual song types prove to be the 'suitor-song', in which a male lover begs for the grace and love of his lady, followed by the love complaint, in which a male lover laments about his lost or impossible love. The love complaint formed the core of classical *Minnesang*.[36]

The Dutch song landscape has always differed from the German one. Up to 1400 evidence of song transmission in the Dutch speaking areas is scarce; the

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35   On the causes of separation, see Wachinger B., "Liebeslieder vom späten 12. bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert", in Haug W. (ed.), *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit. Übergänge, Umbrüche und Neuansätze* (Tübingen: 1999), esp. 15–29, mainly building on Brunner H., "Das deutsche Liebeslied um 1400", in Mück H.-D. – Müller U. (eds.), *Gesammelte Vorträge der 600-Jahrfeier Oswalds von Wolkenstein, Seis am Schlern 1977*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 206 (Göppingen: 1978) 105–146.

36   Sittig D., *Vyl Wonders Machet Minne. Das deutsche Liebeslied in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Versuch einer Typologie*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 465 (Göppingen: 1987) 84, 109, 119–120. In Sittig's division causes of separation have not been taken into account.

courtly love song known in French and German is almost non-existent for the simple reason it probably never really entered Dutch culture.[37] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was an upsurge of song production, as is evidenced by the occurrence of melody references accompanying religious songs naming secular songs in the fifteenth century. Those references show that the secular songs mentioned were well-known by many people, but they might not have been put in writing, as hardly any fifteenth century sources survive. However, we do have an expanding list of written and printed song collections from the sixteenth century.[38] They confirm that the Netherlands and adjoining German regions in the sixteenth century were a major area for production and reproduction of secular songs.[39]

Sixteenth-century secular songs in alba prove to be in most cases secular love songs, in which a male lover utters his longing. Because we are lacking a type analysis of Dutch love songs or the causes for the distance between the lovers, it is hard to fit them into categories developed by German scholars. However, slanderers and hindrances seem to be everywhere in alba songs, which suggests the German 'after 1400' division also is to be applied here. Different from the German situation seems to be that songs in alba usually are (traditional) love complaints, not suitor songs. A typical example of a well known late-medieval Dutch love song is "I have to weep day and night and suffer such languishing" ("Trueren moet ick nacht ende dach / Ende lijden also groot verlanghen") in which a lover expresses his never-ending suffering: because of the actions of slanderers he is separated from his beloved, to his great despair.[40] The song

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37   On the lack of sources containing Dutch courtly songs, designated as 'the black hole' in Dutch song tradition, see Willaert F., "Een proefvlucht naar het zwarte gat. De Nederlandse liedkunst tussen Jan I van Brabant en het Gruuthuse-handschrift", in Willaert F. (ed.), *Veelderhande liedekens. Het Nederlandse lied tot 1600* (Louvain: 1997) 42–43, and, elaborating Willaerts thesis, Tervooren H., "Een tweede proefvlucht naar het zwarte gat van de veertiende eeuw. De opvattingen van een germanist", in Grijp L.P. – Willaert F. (eds.), *De fiere nachtegaal. Het Nederlandse lied in de middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: 2008) 85. In general, research on sixteenth-century German song is not well developed; the same can be said for the Dutch side (as is also stated in Tervooren, "Hybride Formen" 30).

38   Strijbosch C., "Vogelnestjes in de marge. De overlevering van Middelnederlandse liederen in bronnen tot 1500", in Willaert, *Veelderhande liedekens* 10–29, here 15–16.

39   For a survey of alba with songs see the list in Strijbosch "Hinter dem schwarzen Loch" 83–86 and Appendix 1 below, 203–204.

40   "Trueren moet ick nacht ende dach / Ende lijden also groot verlanghen", here in the version in the *Antwerp Songbook*, fol. 81r (Poel, D. van der – Joldersma H. – Geirnaert D. – Oosterman J., in collaboration with Grijp L.P. (eds.), *Het Antwerps Liedboek*, 2 vols. (Tielt: 2004), here vol. 1, 330–331, vol. 2, 339–340), where it was designated as 'een oudt liedeken'

dates back to at least the fifteenth century. It appears in the famous *Antwerp Songbook* of 1544–1545, in no less than four of the fifteen Dutch alba listed in this article, and in many other songbooks.

In the alba the number of love complaints in which a lover sings out his suffering because of the separation from his beloved—for whatever reason—reaches astonishing proportions. Surveying the fifteen Dutch alba with Middle Dutch songs from 1550–1600, no less than 84% of the texts are love complaints (see Appendix 2a, 204).[41] Narrative love ballads, a song type which is well represented in the *Antwerp Songbook*, are much less represented.[42] Most love complaints in alba not only belong to a type of song with a well established tradition in medieval lyrics, reaching back to the heart of German *Minnesang*, they are also not rare finds in the sixteenth-century song landscape. One of the beautiful assets of the Dutch Song Database is that one click provides information on the sources in which a particular song is to be found.[43] So it is a relatively simple matter to count how many of the songs in the sixteenth-century alba appear elsewhere. The search yielded a percentage of 50: half of the songs in the alba are not unique (see Appendix 2b, 205, for detailed percentages per album). This number indicates the lowest margin: when all German Songbooks up to 1600 can be searched digitally, the number no doubt will rise, as will also be the case when more alba become known. On the basis of existing

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('an old song'); the classification 'old' has been given to songs written before 1510–1525, that is between 12 and 33 years before the first printed version of the *Antwerp Songbook* (1537–1543) (Vellekoop K., "Hoe oud is 'oudt' in het Antwerps liedboek?", in Buuren A.M.J. van – Dijk H. van – Lie O.S.H. – Oostrom F.P. van (eds.), *Tussentijds. Bundel studies aangeboden aan W.P. Gerritsen ter gelegenheid van zijn vijftigste verjaardag*, Utrechtse bijdragen tot de mediëvistiek 5 (Utrecht: 1985) 275–277). The song also appears in the sixteenth-century songbooks Venlo, Berlin 612 and 752, the Alba Beers, Lynden and Overijssel and *Aemstelredams Amoreus Lietboeck*, printed in 1589 in Amsterdam. For a survey see Dutch Song Database, www.liederenbank.nl s.v. "Trueren moet ick nacht ende dach".

41 See the list in Appendix 2, 204–205. The other 16% are songs of various types: devotional, religious or political songs, drinking or New Year songs and, rarely, burlesque songs. Types are given according to the classification in the Dutch Song Database (which however, should be considered with some care).

42 In the *Antwerp Songbook* a quarter of all songs is of the type 'complaint of a male lover'; another quarter consists of narrative songs about love (in Dutch research called 'balladen' ('ballads'). See for a study of song types in the *Antwerp Songbook* W.P. Gerritsen in Vellekoop K. – Wagenaar-Nolthenius H., in coll. with Gerritsen W.P. – Hemmes-Hoogstadt A.C. (eds.), *Het Antwerps Liedboek. 87 Melodieën op teksten uit 'Een Schoon Liedekens-Boeck' van 1544*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: 1972; repr. 1975), here vol. 1, xviii–xix.

43 Of course this tool also has its limits: sometimes researchers do not recognize a concordance, and only a limited number of German sources have been taken into account.

evidence it may already be concluded that songs in alba have not usually been composed for the occasion.

These findings indicate that the songs in alba are traditional in the double sense of the word: they belong to a song type with firm roots in medieval song tradition, and in the sixteenth century they belong to the common stock of alba repertoire. So for the inscribers 'unique personal expression' or 'new' obviously not were the main aim. This seems to be the same with other contributions in alba. Not only many of the songs appear over and again, but also many illustrations, mottos and proverbs may have been drawn from common stock. A proverb 'honour surpasses richness' ('eer voor goet') which seems to be the motto of album possessor Aefgen van Giblant, appears repeatedly elsewhere.[44] Some alba contain the same songs or proverbs three or four times, sometimes even twice on the same page.[45] Originality was obviously not the aim of most inscribers, nor the gathering of a unique series of songs or sayings. This digression on the literary tradition offers yet another example of the difficulties in establishing a connection between alba and de lives and loves of the persons involved in the making of the book. On the one hand most love songs were not written for the occasion, on the other hand conventional songs can be used to express sincere, deep-felt love.

New Phenomena in Alba

Not everything in the alba was rooted in tradition, or well-known. As well as drawing from a well-known stock also the interest new things may be connected to the life situation of alba possessors or contributors. In both cases the connection is not straightforward. Traditional love songs may have been the vehicles of suitors, but also the expression of family ties or simply of traditional social conviviality habits. The presence of sixteenth-century new literary and cultural phenomena allows to situate some alba and their owners in more trendy or upmarket circles. Knowledge of new text and illustration types

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44   See Fig. 7.6 and 7.7 in Van der Poel, "Exploring Love's Options" in this volume, and occurrences mentioned in n. 24.

45   Nearly all alba contain doubles; Album Bentinck even has the same song "Mijn haepen wyl ick setten" ("I want to pin my hope") four times; in Album Stepraedt one proverb 'Tot Gott allom doe ick hapen unde vertrouwen' ('On God alone (?) I hope and trust') was written on two adjoining folia (fol. 70v, 71r) in the same year (1604), in two different dialects. This shows also how simply writing down a very familiar song or proverb seems to have been appreciated. See on this phenomenon Strijbosch, "Hinter dem schwarzen Loch" 90.

may have been considered sexy or otherwise contribute in a positive way to the stature of the contributor. In this way it might play a role in courtship as well as in showing off culturally upmarket knowledge. At least the presence of new phenomena in alba betrays closeness to certain intellectual and cultural front circles of the sixteenth century.

By the end of the blooming time of alba with songs, around 1600, two important renewals in literature had been established in Dutch literary culture: the influence of chambers of rhetoric, and the influence of Petrarchism. The (male) members of the chambers of rhetoric in cities in the Netherlands devoted themselves to literature. At the time, the chambers of rhetoric were among the most influential literary associations in the Netherlands. Songs were not their core business. Most chambers focused on the production and performance of theatre pieces and of refrains ('refreinen'), but on a less ambitious level also songs formed part of their rhetorical practice. Rhetoricians are responsible for the writing of many amorous songs, especially praises of the beloved and love complaints. Characteristic features of rhetorician songs are the use of classical motifs and the so-called prince-stanza, a final stanza directed to the 'leading man' of the chamber, the prince, or to 'the princess', the beloved.[46]

Influence of rhetoricians in alba never has been studied, but some rhetorical aspects are visible at first sight in a few of the fifteen alba with songs. Remarkable in this respect are the alba Beaumont, Giblant, Jacops and Herema. In these alba most or even all songs end with a prince-stanza and some of them contain the devices of chambers of rhetoric.[47] It is not far-fetched to suppose

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46   On rhetorians in general see Coigneau D., "Rederijkers", *Lexikon des Mittelalters* vol. 7, 535–537, on rederijkers and songs Coigneau D., "Een vreughdich liedt moet ick vermanen. Positie en gebruikswijzen van het rederijkerslied", in Willaert F. (ed.), *Een zoet akkoord. Middeleeuwse lyriek in de Lage Landen*, Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur in de middeleeuwen 7 (Amsterdam: 1992) 256–258; with a focus on music Coigneau D., "Muziek bij de rederijkers", in Grijp L.P. – Bossuyt I. – Delaere M. – Groot R. de – Mutsaers L. – Rasch R. – Vellekoop K. – Wennekes E. (eds.), *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: 2001) 116–121.

47   The incipit of the song "Door de liefde bloyende" ("Blooming by love"), fol. 34v in Album Beaumont may be inspired by the device of the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric 'De Eglentier' ('The Eglentine'). The song "Cupido trijumphant" (Album Beers, fol. 53r) contains references to three Antwerp chambers of rhetoric; this song was rather popular, so it is difficult to say if in the context of the album these actually refer to chambers. In Album Giblant the song "Gaet uut wilt vreucht aenvaerden" fol. 37r contains the device 'uut jonste begrepen' of the Gouda chamber 'De Goudsbloem' ('The Marigold'); in the same album the song "O lieflyck gesicht" fol. 123r is subscribed by 'In lieffden bloeyende', the device of 'De Eglentier'. Also New Year's songs, refrains and ballads in Album Giblant

that these alba were written in close connection to members of one of these chambers.

In Dutch poetry the new fashion of Petrarchism was growing into maturity towards 1600; it would reach its first culmination point in the publication of P.C. Hooft's *Emblemata Amatoria* in 1611.[48] In 1601 Leyden scholar and poet Daniel Heinsius (who also possessed a 'traditional' students' album, now lost) was one of the most productive authors in other people's alba. With his *Emblemata Amatoria* he published the very first love emblem book in the Dutch language, gathering a survey of Petrarchan motifs in images and mottos.[49] One of the images in this book, 'Thus I bear the pain of loving well' ('Cosi de ben amar porto tormento', Fig. 7.4) in which a fly (or moth, or mosquito) is depicted circling a candle flame also appears, with a French motto, twice in the Album Bentinck, in the Album Besten and, probably the earliest representation, in Album Renesse (1576–1577) [Fig. 7.5]. The motto reads:

> Like the fly puts his life to danger
> to see the light of a candle,
> so has to do a noble man
> for the beauty of a young lady.[50]

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      reveal rhetorician influence. Information on chambers and devices is derived from the Dutch Song Database s.v. the different alba in question, on chambers of rhetoric see http://www.dbnl.org/organisaties/rederijkerskamers. In connection with the influence of chambers of rhetoric it would be an interesting research project to compare the relation of Dutch texts in the alba to those in French.

48   On Petrarchism in Dutch Poetry see Forster L., *The Icy Fire. Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (Cambridge: 1969) 48–53, and, more specialised Ypes C., *Petrarca in de Nederlandse letterkunde* (Amsterdam: 1934); Ypes 52 designates Hooft's poetry the 'highlight of Petrarchism' in Dutch lyrics of the seventeenth century.

49   The first print of 1601 is usually called *Quaeris quid sit amor*. According to Fontaine Verwey H. de la, "Notes on the début of Daniel Heinsius as a Dutch poet", Quaerendo. A quarterly journal from the Low Countries devoted to manuscripts and printed books 3, 4 (1973) 293, Heinsius did not write the album on his own, but as a member of a group humanists at Leyden University. On Heinsius's own (lost) album amicorum see Becker-Cantarino B., *Daniël Heinsius, Nederduytsche poemata* [Facsimile-Edition of first printed version 1616] (Berne – Frankfurt am Main: 1983) 11. The remark on Heinsius's contributions to other alba in Heesakkers, "Album amicorum" 14.

50   'Cóme la moúche, mét sa vie en peril / poúr voir, la clairte, d'une chandelle / Aijnsi doijbt faire / toút homme gentil / poúr la beaulte d'une damoiselle', Album Renesse (not foliated), also in Album Bentinck (a) fol. 82v, (b) 63v, Album Besten, fol. 51r, all of them accompanied by a French text; it also appears in the seventeenth century Album Steyn,
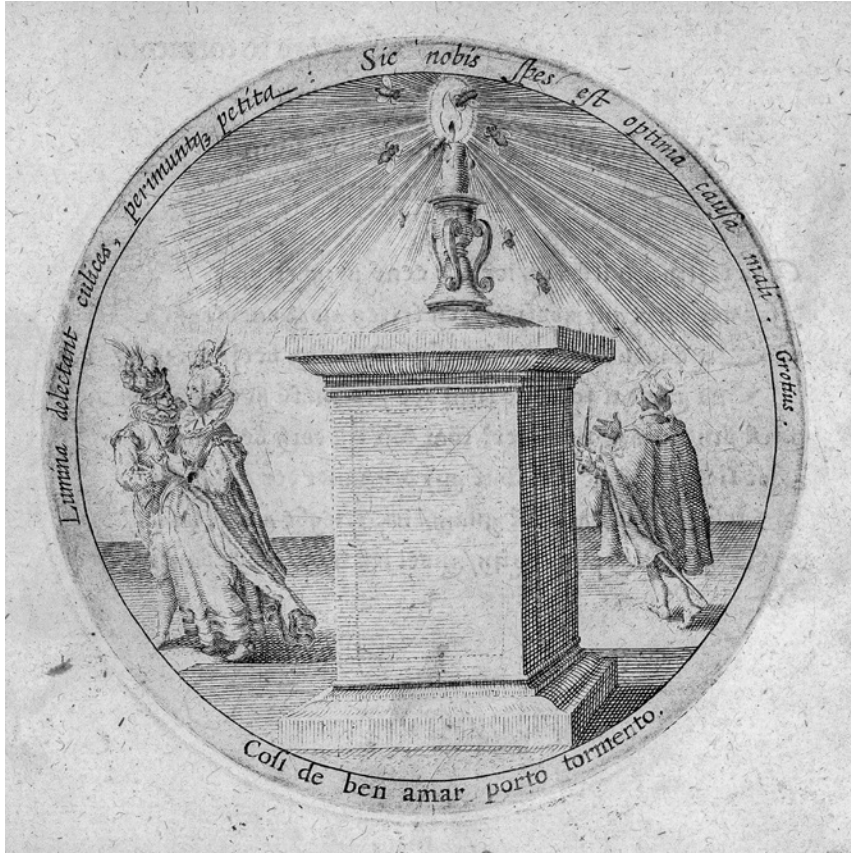
FIGURE 7.4   *Daniël Heinsius, emblem nr. 8 "Cosi de ben amar porto tormento" from the*
            Emblemata Amatoria (*first ed.: Amsterdam, Herman de Buck: 1601*). *Engraving.*
            The Hague, Royal Library, 1121 F 61, D 2r.
            IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

So the 'typical Petrarchan' image of the fly (moth) burning its wings, like the
lover burning in the fire of love, had already entered alba 25 years before
Heinsius's *Emblemata*, obviously from a French source. If research desidera-
tum 8 would be met, namely a survey of drawings and motifs in drawings in
alba with songs, it might become clear if this and other Petrarchan motifs are
also to be found elsewhere in alba. In Dutch song texts in alba the influence
of Petrarchism is rare, but a study of images and of contributions in other

fol. 5r with title "Cosi de ben amar porto tormento" (Leerintveld, "Het liedboek" 23). The
motto is given here according to the version in Album Renesse.
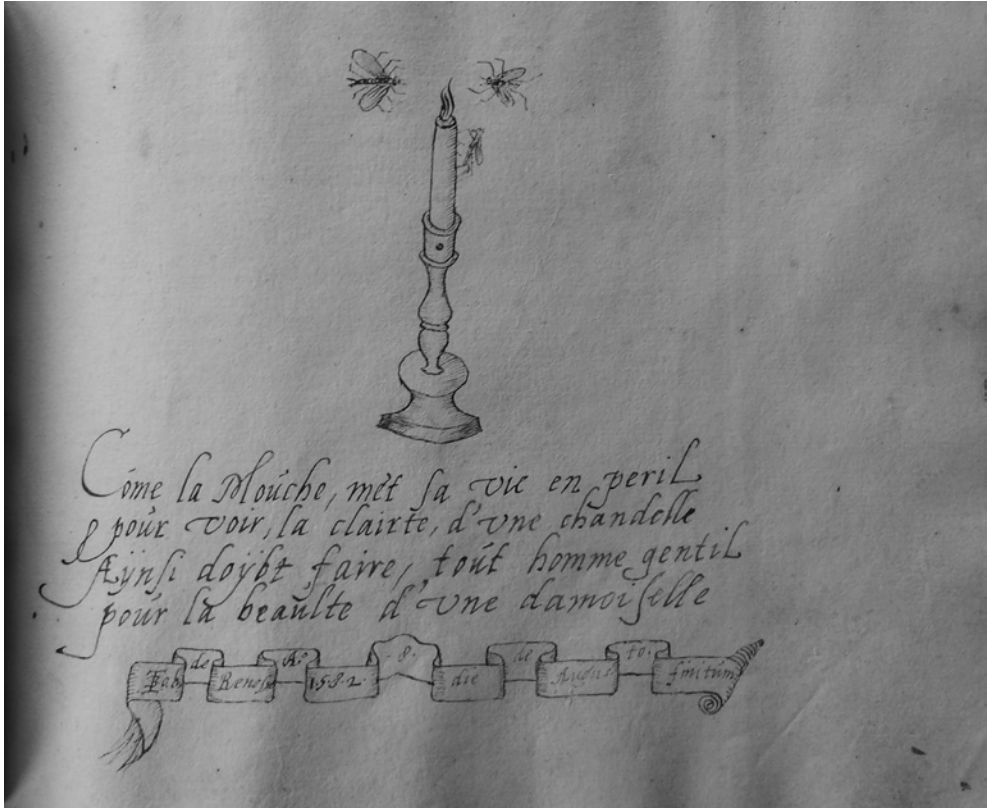
FIGURE 7.5 *Fly and candle. Album Sophia Renesse van der Aa. Drawing. Delden, Huisarchief*
Twickel, 897, without foliation.
IMAGE © HUISARCHIEF TWICKEL DELDEN.

languages, especially those in Latin, Greek and Italian, could reveal a substantial share of Petrarchan characteristics. A first indication: Album Stepraedt contains a poem, announced as "Sonetto di Petrarcha", which is actually a sonnet from Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (Nr. 365), of which the first stanza reads:

> I go weeping for my time past
> that I spent in loving something mortal,
> without lifting myself in flight, for I had wings
> that might have freed me for spaces not so low.[51]

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51   'I'vo piangendo i miei passati tempi / i quai posi in amar cosa mortale, / senza levarmi a
     volo, abbiend'io l'ale, / per dar forse di me non bassi exempi', Petrarca F., *Canzoniere*, ed.

It is likely that Latin, Greek and Italian contributions were inscribed by men, who, more often than women, had the opportunity to learn these languages and make their grand tours. Images would have appealed to both sexes. This leads to research desideratum 9: a survey of sexes of contributors and the type and language of their contributions in alba. No doubt such a survey would throw light on difference in cultural knowledge, in linguistic competence, and in the use of literary, musical and pictorial sources between men and women in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Both chambers of rhetoric and centres of humanist learning like universities, were not accessible to women. Usually they did not learn Greek or Latin and it would have been the brothers and other male acquaintances who contributed texts in these foreign languages. French seems to have been the 'home' language for many women writing alba.[52] Through the channel of French literature they could have had direct access to new rhetorical or Petrarchan texts.

New traits are apparent in a small group of women's alba. Rhetorical traits are to be found in the alba Beaumont, Giblant, Jacops and Herema, Petrarchism in the alba Stepraedt, Renesse and Bentinck. They might reveal connections of the owners of these alba with the leading people of the Dutch literary landscape of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Conclusion

A first overview of the contents of alba amicorum-with-songs gives a mixed picture: most alba contain contributions by many different people, centred around one woman (or occasionally a man) over many years and from many regions. The role of the (wo)man at the heart of the circle is not always the same, and it is usually difficult to define what her influence on her book was. Some alba seem to have started as a gathering of coats of arms or as a songbook, initiated by the possessor. Though some alba contain traits of the more up-market literary fashions of rhetorics and Petrarchism, the main body seems to consist of well-known proverbs and songs. In one respect the picture is uniform: the majority of songs are traditional love complaints which belonged to the common stock of songs in the second half of the sixteenth century.

G. Contini (Turin: 1964), Nr. 365, 442; translation Kline 2002; Album Stepraedt, fol. 157v (ed. Doorninck, "Album Amicorum" 397; here the second and third line have been left out).

52   As probably was the case for the owners of the alba Mathenesse and Renesse (Frijhoff, *Meertaligheid* 24–25). The French oriented Album Mathenesse contains—exceptionally in a woman's album—a series of Dutch pastoral songs.

The main theme of the alba with songs is love, in songs as well as other contributions. As in all games, also playing with words of love could have a serious undertone. As Leonard Forster writes about the high-brow Petrarchan style: it offered a poetic idiom of great flexibility, which could be non-committal or serious, as desired.[53] As it is now, in the sixteenth century the love felt for somebody would have been a personal, unique and deep feeling, but as it is now, also at that age the wording of that feeling might have stemmed from various emotions and might have been aimed at many different people. The most passionate love song may be written or sung without the author or singer being in love, or without being in love with the person to whom the song is directed. The song may be used as a vehicle to express feelings for a person other than the initial recipient; it can be just a 'pleasant song', or even just a fashionable way of leaving a trace on a page. Of course it can be, and would have been, used to play around with the possibilities of love.[54] Today, just as in the sixteenth century, songs like these may have been used to gauge what reactions they might elicit: 'How does she look when she reads it?', 'Does he mean me?', 'Where did she get this song?' All these reactions seem to be provoked by the songs in the alba. They may have been written by passionate lovers, but also by the very young nieces who wanted to show off their song knowledge, or by the not-so-young uncle who had nothing else in his song repertoire.

Whereas songs usually show up a traditional repertory, some alba betray the newer phenomena of rhetoricians and of Petrarchism. Probably the owners of these alba were in closer connection, most likely by mediation of their male acquaintances, to circles of rhetoricians, to universities and to young people who brought home knowledge from their study travels.

It is possible that traditional as well as more modern contributions in these alba played part in courting, but that is only part of their contents and use. They will have been the female offshoot of the use established in 'Family Books' to write yourself into certain circles. Alba with songs are the counterparts on a small scale, socially and geographically speaking, of the students' alba in which contributions from a wider circle of learned and 'important' people were gathered, or the homely counterparts of the production of chambers or rhetoric. In that sense, what they mainly reveal is the identity and literary memory and tastes of a social group, centered around women of the nobility of the second half of the sixteenth century.

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53   Forster, *Icy Fire* 63.

54   As is argued in Van der Poel, "Exploring Love's Options" 209–239 (in this volume).

Appendix 1

List of Dutch Alba with songs 1540–1600 (signature); localization and dating in italics: working title as used in this article. Localization and dating according to Repertory of Dutch song Database, additions-corrections to information given there indicated between square brackets.

Arnhem Album Aleyd van Arnhem (Leyden, University Library, BPL 2267); Brabant (Antwerp) [and probably Gelders], 1578–1593.

Beaumont Album Herbert Beaumont (The Hague, Royal Library, 76 H 10); Holland (Dordrecht), 1592–1606.

Beers Album Clara de Beers (The Hague, Royal Library, 135 J 53); Brabant/ [maybe Gelders (near Nijmegen)], 1582[–1600].

Bentinck Album Joanna Bentinck (The Hague, Hoge Raad van Adel, Coll. Van Spaen 87abc) (three parts: a, b, c); Overijssel/Gelders (probably a Zwolle, b Zalk, c Warnsveld)], 1575–1609.

Besten Album Maria van Besten (Zwolle, Stedelijk Museum, Ms. 773); Overijssel, [(Den Ham) – Bentheim (Germany) (Lage)], 1593[–1600].

Giblant Album Aefgen Claesdochter van Giblant (The Hague, Royal Library, 135 K 36); Holland (Dordrecht [or Haarlem)]), 1598[–1601].

Herema Album Habel Wiglesdr van Herema (The Hague, Royal Library, 74 J 58); Friesland 1578–1587.

Jacopsdr. Album Styntgen Jacopsdr. (Cambridge, University Library, Dd.6.49); Flanders (Ghent?), 1562–1599.

Lynden Album Johan van Lynden (Arnhem, Gelders Archief, Familie Batenburg/Van Basten Batenburg 3067 eb 28); [(Cologne/Nijmegen), 1556–1578].

Mathenesse Album Margriet van Mathenesse (Arnhem, Gelders Archief, Huizen Waardenburg en Neerijnen 0439db nr. 2118); Gelders?, 1580–1639.

Overijssel Album Overijssel (Leyden, University Library, BPL 2912); [Westfalia (Bocholt)] – Overijssel (Vollenhove), [1551–1590].

Pieck Album Pieck (private possession); [Gelders], [1585–1596].

Renesse Album Sophia van Renesse van der Aa (Delden, Huisarchief Twickel, inv.nr. 897); Utrecht, 1576[–1608].

Stepraedt Album Walraven van Stepraedt (Arnhem, Gelders Archief, coll. mss 412); Gelders (Kessel), 1598–1633.

Wassenaer Album Theodora van Wassenaer en Duvenvoorden (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 221); Holland, 1577–1639.

Related Dutch Songbooks

Aemstelredams Amoreus lietboeck (1589) (only printed exemplar Danzig, Library of
    Polish Academy of Sciences, Dg. 432).

Album Anna Steyn (The Hague, Royal Library, 79 J 30).

Antwerp Songbook (*Antwerps Liedboek*, only complete printed exemplar Wolffenbüttel,
    Herzog August Bibliothek, 236.5 Poetica).

Venlo Songbook (Brussels, Royal Library, II 144).

Zutphen Songbook (Weimar, Thüringse Landesbibliothek, Oct. 146).

Related German Alba Mentioned in this Article

Darfeld Songbook, Album Kathryna von Bronchorst und Batenborch (Schloss Darfeld,
    Archiv der Domherren Droste C, hss. 1).

Niederrheinische Liederhandschrift 1574 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer
    Kulturbesitz, mgq 612).

Ms. Berlin 752 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, mgf 752).

Appendix 2

a   *Percentage of Love Songs in Alba*

Arnhem	5:9	= 55%
Beaumont	54:60	= 90%
Beers	25:28	= 89%
Bentinck	48:72	= 67%
Besten	18:25	= 72%
Giblant	63:69	= 91%
Herema	14:15	= 93%
Jacops	6:9	= 67%
Lynden	19:21	= 90%
Mathenesse	7:8	= 87%
Overijssel	56:65	= 86%
Pieck	12:14	= 86%
Renesse	15:17	= 88%
Stepraedt	13:16	= 81%
Wassenaer	13:14	= 93%
Average		84%

b   *Percentage of Songs with Known Concordances*

Arnhem	6:9	= 67%
Beaumont	18:60	= 30%
Beers	14:28	= 50%
Bentinck	40:72	= 56%
Besten	16:25	= 64%
Giblant	31:69	= 45%
Herema	6:15	= 40%
Jacops	7:9	= 78%
Lynden	15:21	= 71%
Mathenesse	2:8	= 25%
Overijssel	37:65	= 57%
Pieck	6:14	= 43%
Renesse	8:17	= 47%
Stepraedt	6:16	= 37%
Wassenaer	5:14	= 36%
Average		50%

Both lists have been compiled on the basis of information in the Dutch Song Database (accessed: 20 December 2012); only Middle Dutch songs have been counted (which is the great majority of songs in alba amicorum of the sixteenth century). The typification of songs in the Dutch Song Database is to be handled with care; however, that a song is a 'love complaint' is generally not liable to misunderstanding.

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Exploring Love's Options: Song and Youth Culture in the Sixteenth Century Netherlands

Dieuwke van der Poel

In contemporary western culture there is an obvious and well documented connection between music and youth. Music plays a prominent role in adolescents' lives, particularly in relation to the development of self-identity.[1] Teenagers choose certain music styles (like grunge, rap, techno) as a cultural practice, a symbolic choice in which they seek to establish, and to express, who they are.[2] It is commonly accepted that this particular kind of music culture originated immediately after the Second World War, with the arrival of rock and roll coinciding with the development of technological devices like record players and transistor radios.[3] However, the unique connection between youth and musical culture is much older. That musical sensitivity in young people seems to be something universal is supported by neurological research showing that adolescent brain changes lead to a temporary peak in the emotional response to music.[4]

In Dutch culture, there is significant evidence from particularly the seventeenth century that those most heavily involved with printed songbooks—as singers, authors, intended public, consumers—were primarily young people of a marriageable age. In this article I argue that the strong connection between youth and song culture is even older, dating back well into at least the sixteenth

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1 Juslin P.N. – Västfjäll D., "Emotional Responses to Music: The Need to Consider Underlying Mechanisms", *Behavioral and Brain sciences* 31 (2008) 559–621, esp. 567; see also Epstein J.S., *Adolescents and Their Music: If It's too Loud, You're too Old* (New York: 1993), North A.C. – Hargreaves D.J., "Music and Adolescent Identity", *Music Education Research* 1 (1999) 75–92, Bennett A., *Popular Music and Youth Culture*: *Music, Identity and Place* (Hampshire: 2000), Frith S., "Music and identity", in ibid., *Taking Popular Music Seriously*: *Selected Essays* (Aldershot: 2007) 293–312, Mulder J., *Use It or Lose It: Music Preferences and Uses Related to Psychosocial Functioning among Adolescents and Young Adults* (Utrecht: 2008).

2 Willis P. – James S. – Canaan J. – Hurd G., *Common Culture: Symbolic Work at Play in Everyday Cultures of the Young* (Buckingham: 1990) 59–83.

3 Bennett, *Popular Music and Youth Culture* 34–35.

4 Juslin – Västfjäll, "Emotional Responses to Music" 577, Spear L.P., "The Adolescent Brain and Age-related Behavioral Manifestations", *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 24 (2000) 417–463.

century. For the seventeenth century, evidence for the connection between song and youth culture is derived primarily from elements typical for printed books, such as titles (most obvious in an example like *Den bloem-hof van de Nederlantsche jeught* ('The flower garden of the Dutch youth'), 1608) and prefaces that address young people explicitly, dedications that present the book as a gift for young women, or author portraits that mention the age of the poet (e.g. Willem van der Borcht, aged 16, Leonardus Gouwerack, aged 22, Cornelis Stribee, aged 24).[5] Up until now, handwritten songbooks of the sixteenth century have attracted less scholarly attention than the printed songbooks of a century later. However, in the post-Gutenberg period, many books were indeed still handwritten. The table below shows the figures for the tradition of sixteenth century song:

	Printed sources of song	Handwritten sources of song
1501–1525	14	32
1526–1550	60	65
1551–1575	200	49
1576–1600	333	86
Total	607	232

These figures, taken from the *Dutch Song Database,* should be interpreted with caution,[6] but they seem to indicate a rapid expansion of print throughout the century. At the same time, the manuscript does not fade away: on the contrary, the number of handwritten sources is growing as well, albeit not as rapidly (and with a notable dip in the period 1551–1575).

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5   Veldhorst N., *Zingend door het leven: het Nederlandse liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: 2009): books as a gift for women: 91–100; portraits of young poets: 142; see also: Grijp L.P., "Voer voor zanggrage kropjes: wie zongen uit de liedboekjes in de Gouden Eeuw?", in Bijvoet Th. – Koopman P. – Kuitert L. – Verhoeven G. (eds.), *Bladeren in andermans hoofd: over lezers en leescultuur* (Nijmegen: 1996) 96–125 and Grootes E.K., "Het publiek van de 'nieuwe liedboeken' in het eerste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw", in Berg W. van den – Stouten J. (eds.), *Het woord aan de lezer: zeven literatuurhistorische verkenningen* (Groningen: 1987) 72–88.

6   The Dutch Song Database (www.liederenbank.nl) presents all known sources of Dutch songs in the given period, ranging from handwritten and printed songbooks to sources containing only one or a few songs beside others texts. For a lot of sources it is only possible to determine a rough date. In addition, we do not know whether the number of surviving sources offers a reliable reflection of the number of produced sources.

For research on identity formation in past eras, handwritten songbooks present interesting cases. While they lack the informative elements of printed books such as titles, prefaces and dedications, handwritten songbooks reflect the actual place of songs in social life much better than their printed counterparts usually do. They illustrate the uses of texts in particular social environments, and therefore give better insight into the sociocultural functioning of texts, into the interests and preoccupations of collectors and singers.[7]

My point of departure for an exploration of the use of song by sixteenth-century youngsters is a comparison of two song manuscripts of this period. They are both handwritten commonplace books, the one compiled by a woman, the other by two, probably male, inhabitants of the city of Zutphen, a Hanseatic town in the eastern part of today's Netherlands.

The Zutphen Songbook

The Zutphen Songbook is rather small, measuring about 4 by 6 inches (10 by 15 centimetres) and has 56 folio's in its present state (4 pages are lost).[8] It contains 48 songs as well as 44 short poems and maxims.[9] The name Zutphen is written on the cover of the book, along with 'Hanns aůs Kolstege' as the one who 'changed' ('feranndertt') the book in 1540 [Fig. 8.1]. This might indicate that this Hanns, who lived in the Kolstege (a street name mentioned in Zutphen archival documents), was responsible for a new binding of the book he apparently owned.[10] On the flyleaf the date 1537 was written twice: '1537. Laus Deo. 1537. diei 3 Jenner Inn Sůtfhaenn etc.', from which we can deduce that the manuscript itself was begun on the third of January in the year 1537 in Zutphen.[11] [Fig. 8.2] The contents were written by three hands, usually called A, B and C.

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7   This point of view is inspired by: Marotti A.F., *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca – London: 1995), Taylor J.H.M., *The Making of Poetry: Late-Medieval French Poetic Anthologies* (Turnhout: 2007) and Moser N., "Vroegmoderne Nederlandse manuscriptcultuur in diachroon en internationaal perspectief: van blinde vlek tot multifocale glazen", *Neerlandistiek.nl* 07.09d. According to Harold Love, 'the very choice of scribal publication in preference to print might well be dictated by a sense of identification with a particular community and a desire to nourish its corporate ideology', Love H.H.R., *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: 1993) 146.

8   The manuscripts is kept in the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar, hs. Oct 146, edition: Leloux H.J. (ed.), *Het Zutphens Liedboek. Ms. Weimar oct 146* (Zutphen: 1985) 23–24.

9   37 poems and maxims on fol. 49v–52v (the last written pages of the manuscript), the others occur at several pages throughout the book.

10   Leloux, *Het Zutphens Liedboek* 18–19, 27.

11   Ibid., 23–29.
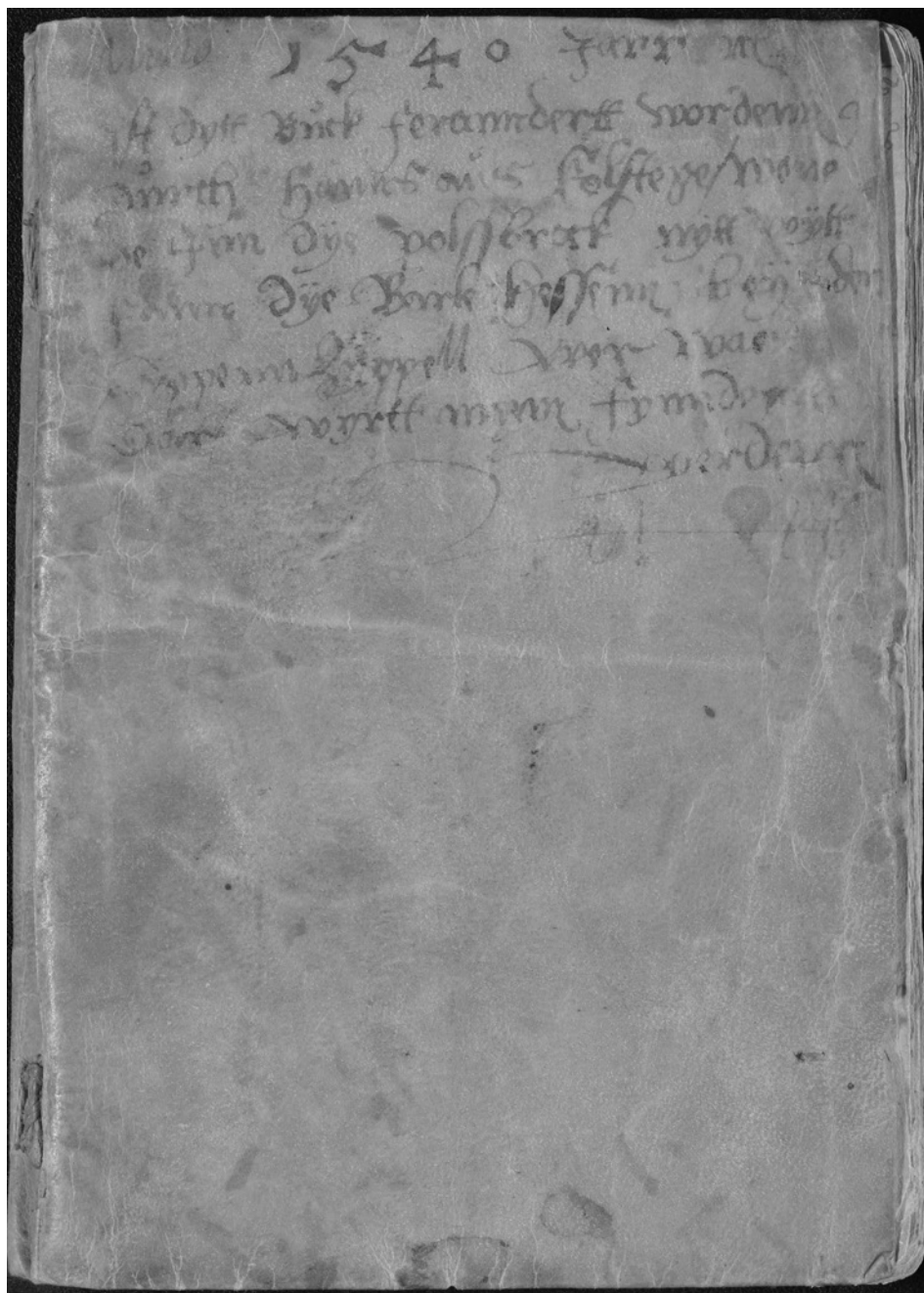
FIGURE 8.1 *Cover of the Zutphen Songbook (*hand C*). Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia*
Bibliothek, hs. Oct 146.

FIGURE 8.2 *Flyleaf of the Zutphen Songbook with the date January 3 1537 and the name of Zutphen (Sůtfhaenn). Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, hs. Oct 146.*
IMAGE © HERZOGIN ANNA AMALIA BIBLIOTHEK WEIMAR.

Hand C appears only on the cover of the book, and might be that of Hanns aůs Kolstege. A and B, however, are the most important, as they are the ones who compiled songs. The songs have strophic texts, and the most important theme is love. Several songs are traditional ballads (# 13, 18, 21, 40). Quite a number of songs bear evidence of oral circulation: they consist of a fabric of stanzas, loosely knit together without narrative unity, sometimes to the extent that several songs are difficult to understand (for example songs # 8, 9, 18, 23). There is neither music notation nor tune indications. However, we do know that some lyrics were written on well-known melodies.[12] Many songs appear in other sixteenth century sources as well; the most important of them are the large printed collections in the *Ambraser Liederbuch* (1582), the Antwerp Songbook (*Antwerps Liedboek*, 1544) and the closely related Amsterdam Amorous Songbook (*Aemstelredams Amoreus Lietboeck*, 1589), as well as Low German song manuscripts, like the book of Katharina von Hatzfeld (1530–1540), the *Darfelder Liederhandschrift* (1546–1565), Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz mgf 752 (1568), Ms. Berlin, sbbpk mgq 612 (1574) and a manuscript that is now kept in Brussels (Brussels, Royal Library II 144 (second half sixteenth century)), and a High German source: Ms. Heidelberg, Palatinum 343 (1550–1555).[13] Thus it is probable that A and B compiled preexisting popular songs, rather than being song authors.

Hand A appears twice in the manuscript, writing down a group of 24 serious songs followed by a table of contents referring to 21 of these 24 songs, and then noting another group of 16 comical songs concluded with a collection of short poems and sayings. [Fig. 8.3] This second group has the heading 'Hůp Reykenns Lieder': 'frisky dance songs'. Hand B wrote a smaller portion of the

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12   For example # 1, 9, 12, 15, 21–23, 39, 41 and 44 have well-known melodies (source: Dutch Song Database).

13   The number of parallel versions of songs in the *Zutphen Songbook* are: *Ambraser Liederbuch*: 10, *Antwerp Songbook*: 17, *Aemstelredams Amoreus Lietboeck*: 5, the book of Katharina von Hatzfeld (Berlin, sbbpk mgq 1480): 2, the Darfelder Liederhandschrift (Darfeld, Schloss, Archiv der Domherren Droste, C, Handschriften, 1): 7, Ms. Berlin, sbbpk mgf 752: 13, Ms. Berlin, sbbpk mgq 612: 6, Ms. Brussels, Royal Library II 144: 8, Ms. Heidelberg, Palatinum 343: 10. See: Houtsma J., *De stem en de pen. Het Hs. Weimar Oct 146 (het Zutphens Handschrift) en de veranderlijkheid van populaire liederen, in de zestiende eeuw en later* (s.l.: 2012) 37–60 and Brednich R.W. (ed.), *Die Darfelder Liederhandschrift 1546–1565*. Unter Verwendung der Vorarbeiten von Hübner A. und Beckmann A.-E., Schriften der Volkskundlichen Kommission für Westfalen 23 (Münster: 1976) 28–34. For 17 of the 49 songs no other contemporary sources are known (Houtsma, *De stem en de pen* 38).

FIGURE 8.3 *Table of contents of the Zutphen Songbook (hand A). Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, hs. Oct 146, fol. 35v.*
IMAGE © HERZOGIN ANNA AMALIA BIBLIOTHEK WEIMAR.

manuscript, only 8 songs.[14] The table of contents written by A is noteworthy: at first glance such a table seems to be unnecessary in a rather small manuscript, since the collector of these songs was likely able to retrieve a song quite easily. Thus the table of contents might be intended for other singers who shared this book with the actual compiler.

What do the two collections of songs, written down by A and B, tell us about the circles in Zutphen in which they were compiled and sung? The first collection of A, # 1–24, is intended to be sung by young people. The I persona (that coincides with the singer during the performance) refers to himself as young, and gives advice to his young friends to be careful when falling in love:

> Now hear, you young friends,
> before you fall in love,
> Lady Venus will haunt you,
> with words as fickle as the wind.[15]

In these songs, love is the predominant theme. There are some traditional genres like ballads and dawn songs, but the most frequent genre is the love complaint in which a male I persona expresses his pain, describes his beloved and sometimes voices his hopes for a better future.[16] Some songs are quite conventional (like # 5, 10, 12, 14–16), but others show some noteworthy features, both in tone and content.

Several songs can be regarded as a parody of the usual love discourse, often with a misogynist undertone. "Die lieffte is blintt, ser onbekantt" ("Love is blind, very ignorant", # 3) has a conventional introduction: an I persona says that he has experienced that Love is blind; his beloved wants to leave him alone. The description of the lady contains very traditional elements as well: she has white arms, red lips and round breasts (stanza 3). Then he asks Venus to help him to get rid of this lady (stanza 4). However, the song takes an unexpected turn: the lady is quoted asking 'fine boys' ('Gesellekens fin') to spend the night

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14   Hand A wrote the texts on fol. 1–27r and fol. 35v–52v (the table of contents is to be found at fol. 35v–36r), B the texts on fol. 27v–33v; the following pages are left blanc: fol. 34rv, 35r, 36v, 48v, 49r and the pages after 52v (Leloux, *Het Zutphens Liedboek* 24).

15   'Nv̊v̊ hortt, gy jonnge gesellenn, / er ghy die lieffte begintt, / frav̊v̊ Fenis sal v kůellenn, / mytt worden gleich die winntt' (song 9, stanza VI, 1–4). The main character calls himself 'young' in song # 2 ('jůngste hellt', 'youngest hero'), # 3 ('mein jůnge leffenn', 'my young life'), # 5 ('min jůnge hartte', 'my young heart', stanza 3 en 4) and # 20 ('myn jůnge hartt', 'my young heart').

16   Ballads: # 13, 18, 21, dawn songs: # 10–11, 14, love complaints: # 1, 3–4, 6–9, 12, 15, 17, 20, 24.

with her, while she pays no attention to the I persona (stanza 5). In the last stanza it turns out that her belly is swollen: she is pregnant! Likewise, "Mein freůntienn sichtt my offel an" ("My girlfriend looks angrily at me", # 4) has elements of a love complaint, but is not a conventional species of the genre, as the lady is not perfect; on the contrary, she is lusty and reportedly has many partners:

> This cheerful fine lady
> is wholly indefatigable,
> she hurries one man out,
> and hurries the second in,
> the third is [already waiting] on the street.[17]

In song # 7 the I persona complains about his beloved who has more than half a dozen lovers (stanza 7); he considers himself not the only man who is deceived by a woman (stanza 9). In other love complaints the cause of the lover's misfortune is the fact that the lady is untrue, and women are called fickle, lusty or deceptive (# 1, 8, and 17).[18]

An equally negative view of women is presented in the farewell song # 19, "Ick sal end ick moett scheiden" ("I will and I must part"), in which the I persona leaves his disloyal and giddy lady.[19] Female treacherousness is the explicit theme of the ballad "Enn mach hir niett ain meysken jonck" ("Isn't there a young girl here [who is going out to play in the evening]"), song # 13). In a very traditional style the story of the knight Degener is told, who falls into the trap set up by his girlfriend after he has killed her father. She lures him into her bed, where he is killed by her three brothers. The song calls her behavior 'treacherous' several times.[20]

An ironic specimen of the traditional ode to the beloved is "Ich wett ain freykenn amůrůs" ("I know a pretty lady" song # 2) which describes the beloved's beauty in detail, traditionally from head to toe, mentioning not only

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17   'Die selbesste hopsche jůnnckfrav̊v̊ fin, / Die ist gans vnůerdratten. / Sie jagett den enen vtt, denn anderen inn, / Den darden stant opter strattenn' (stanza 2, line 1–4).

18   In only one song in the *Zutphen Songbook* the situation is the other way round: in "Rick gott, wem sal ick klagen" ("Mighty Lord, to whom can I complain", # 22, stanza 7) a woman is afraid that the man might be insincere; however, the man convinces her of his honest intentions.

19   This song is also extant in the *Antwerp Songbook* (# 28).

20   In the stanzas 4, 5, 8, 13 and 19. The maxim connected to the song underlines this theme once more: 'Durch frawen lieffte wirtt mancher bedragen etc' ('many are deceived by the love for a woman').

her white teeth and her red lips, but also her white belly with black (pubic) hair (stanza 5).[21] For three of the songs just mentioned (# 3–4, and 13) the *Zutphen Songbook* is the only source we have.[22] All in all, there is considerable misogyny and satire in this collection of 24 songs, not infrequently tinged by bitter sarcasm.

Another sixteen songs in the manuscript by hand A are the so-called frisky dance songs already mentioned (# 33–48). Most are comical and particularly apt to be sung at feasts and gatherings. About half of them have a refrain, enabling the group to sing along more easily.[23] [Fig. 8.4]

Two songs ("Enn will wy taffentt genochlich sienn" ("And will we have fun tonight", # 42) and "Denn dollenn hoett den wil wy aůffsettzen" ("We want to put on the fool's hat", # 46)) celebrate drinking, boasting about love and having fun, 'and if I will have a hangover tomorrow: so be it!').[24] Needless to say that such drinking songs are particularly apt for groups of young men. A number of songs are appropriate for role-playing such as # 47, a comical song with a refrain, in which the I persona takes on the mock identity of a kind of Don Quixote: he boasts that he is not afraid to attack a snail, a partridge nor a fat capon! His more manly counterpart is the I persona in song # 43, who gives a rendition of a 'ruter', a fellow who roams in the woods and meets an eager maiden, but he cannot stay with her: he has to roam and steal.

Many songs consist mainly of direct speech and seem to be intended for a dramatized performance. A recurring theme is the choice of a lover, for example in songs 36, 37 and 39.

In "Hett jar doe ich ain ollt wieff nam" ("The year when I took an old woman", # 36) a young man tells that he once was married to an old woman but couldn't satisfy her. He prayed that she would die—which subsequently happened. Her death, of course, was no reason for sadness. Although implicit, the moral is obvious: one should try to get an appropriate partner, or, in other words, an unequal marriage is undesirable.[25]

"Tho Vttertt for die porte" ("In Utrecht near the city gate", # 37), a narrative song with a refrain, tells about a young girl living in Utrecht who only wants a lame man for a husband. In each stanza another man comes around, asking

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21   This song is also extant in the *Antwerp Songbook* (# 104).

22   Houtsma, *De stem en de pen* 48–49.

23   Seven out of the sixteen songs in this section have a refrain: 33, 34, 35, 37, 42, 45, 47.

24   'End sol my morgen aldenn dach / mein hofftieen schv̊vren, / laett schweren, datt schweren will!' (46, 6–8).

25   Cf. Coupe W.A., "Ungleiche Liebe—A Sixteenth-century Topos", *The Modern Language Review* 62 (1967) 661–671.
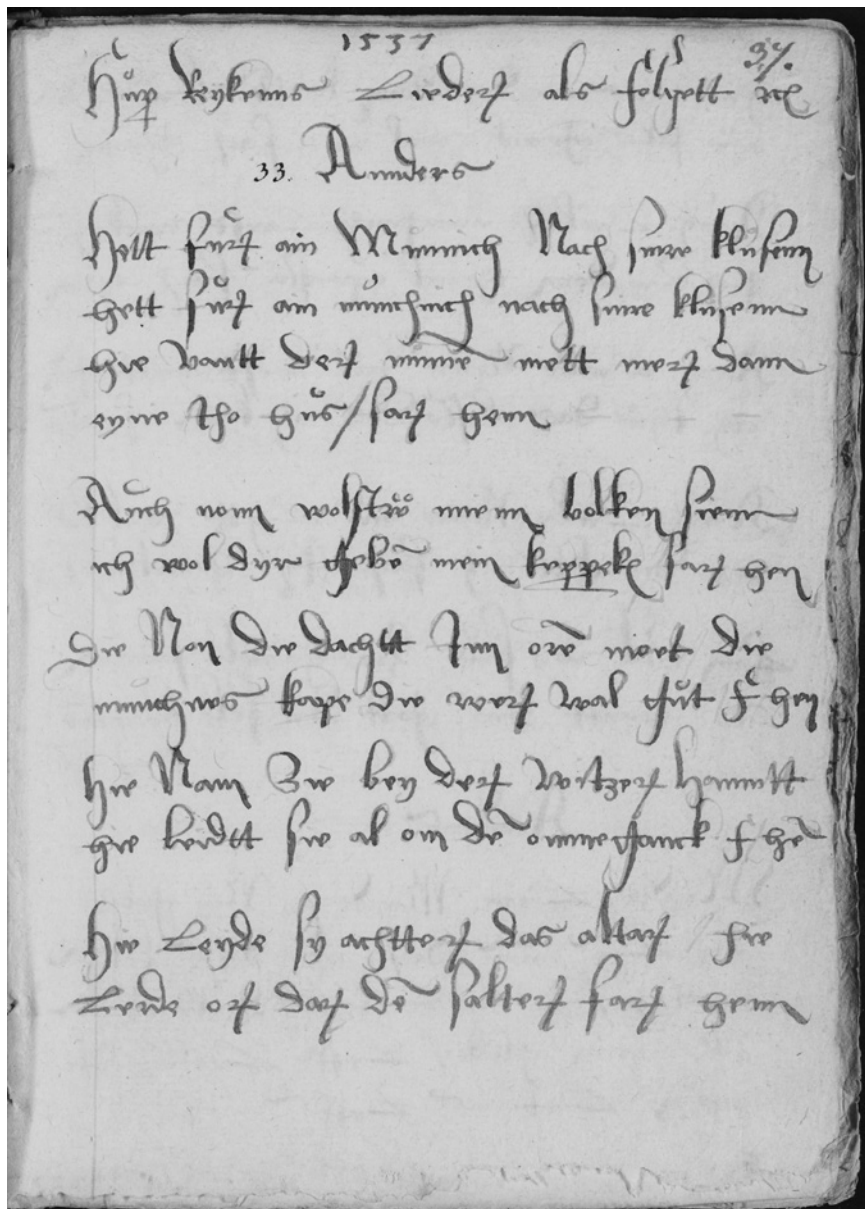
FIGURE 8.4 *Beginning of the section frisky dance songs ("Hŭp Reykenns Lieder", hand A).*
Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, hs. Oct 146, fol. 37r.
IMAGE © HERZOGIN ANNA AMALIA BIBLIOTHEK WEIMAR.

whether she wants to have him: a cobbler, a tailor, a baker, a sexton, but she rejects them all. She does so for comical reasons (the cobbler is at home far too often) or for obscene ones (the sexton's 'clapper' is far too big). She only wants the lame man, because he has money, as the refrain states: 'datt kropelken heft gůtt geltt, gůtt geltt' ('the lame one has fine money, fine money'), but obviously also because he does not have the opportunity to be unfaithful. In this case, a young girl is considering potential partners, all of them having a drawback. On the surface it is of course a humorous song, but nevertheless, the theme is the consideration of options in love. The revue of potential partners makes this song very apt for role-playing. "Es gienngenn zv̌v̌ie gespellenn gůtt" ("Two fine friends went out", # 39) is a dialogue, discussing love's options. It is a girl-talk song, a particular genre of songs 'in which a conversation between two or more maidens is overheard by an interested male' who turns out to be the young man the girls are talking about (in German: 'Gespielinnengesprächslied').[26] In this particular song, one girl asks another whether she will marry an old lame man, but her friend advises her to take a young rich one. When a rich young man appears at the door, however, the girl turns him down; he subsequently decides to bestow his riches on other beautiful women. In this song, both partners have a choice: the girl between an old and a young man, the boy between a girl who doesn't want him and other women with whom he can have fun.

Dialogues like these offer a suitable form for showing various points of view in discussion.[27] Song # 34, a mother-daughter dialogue with a refrain, centers on the question of the appropriate age for a girl's sexual initiation: the daughter wants a man as soon as possible, but her mother thinks that she should still wait a little. In each subsequent stanza the delay is shorter: a year, a month, a week, to the end of the meal,—he is at the door already! The fun of this song is still very appealing and easy to grasp. But an implicit assumption is hidden in the dialogue: it is the responsibility of mothers to guard the threshold to sexuality and maturity of their daughters, while daughters will always try to escape.[28]

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26   Joldersma H., "The Eavesdropping Male: 'Gespielinnengesprächslieder' from Neidhart to the Present", *Euphorion* 78 (1984) 199–218, quote on 199.

27   There are five dialogue songs in this section of the manuscript: 34 (a mother and a daughter), 35 (a lover asks a nightingale to bring a message to his girl, then the nightingale tells the girl that her lover wants to marry someone else, after which she decides to take another husband), 39 (two girls), 45 (a boy asks a girl to become his girlfriend but she refuses), 48 (a boy proposes a girl to leave together, but she doesn't trust him).

28   The theme of the mother who tries to guard her daughters' sexuality occurs also in songs # 41 and # 44 (41 consists of several traditional lines and motifs stitched together). On the theme of mothers and daughters in Medieval Dutch song, see: Joldersma H. –

In conclusion, the frisky dance songs represent a repertoire that seems most suited for a group, for dancing and for singing together (the refrains) or in turn (the dialogues and various characters). The different roles offer the possibility of trying out various identities and options, particularly connected to the theme of love.

Hand B in the *Zutphen Songbook* contributed a small collection of only eight songs (# 25–32), most of them conventional love songs, love complaints and odes to the beloved with a male I persona, a lover, as the main character. Two songs voice some social criticism, deploring the present state in courtly circles. In "Vngnad beger ick nicht fan ir" ("I don't want to be rejected by her", # 25) the I persona blames his misfortune in love on the state of affairs in courtly circles: nobility is under siege by peasant manners nowadays and only he and his beloved know the importance of true courtliness. [Fig. 8.5] "Mein fleis vnd mv̌ve / ich nie heb gspart" ("I never saved zeal or trouble", # 29) stands out because it does not mention love at all: it criticizes society with a complaint about the fickleness of the court's goodwill and the favors of the world, leaving the dedicated servitude of the I persona unnoticed.[29] "Wol aůff, wyr willen rieden" (song 32) is an isolated case as well: it articulates a male group identity by inciting a group to have fun with the girls: 'Come on, we want to ride to where the young ladies are!'[30]

In short, the singer of these songs takes on the identity of a male lover, a striving courtier, who does whatever he can, but is rewarded by neither his lady nor the courtly society to which he seeks to belong. However, this is not his fault and so he cannot be blamed.

All in all, the songs gathered by A and B in the *Zutphen Songbook* celebrate the lifestyle of young men. Particularly the frisky dance songs by hand A offer a place for having fun, celebrating togetherness and performing, but also for an ongoing discussion about potential or foolish behavior in love. From different angles love's options are being explored: the songs offer a consequence-free space to consider the advantages and disadvantages of certain partners, to try out potential identities, without consequences in real life. The misogynist

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Poel D. van der, "Across the Threshold to Maturity: Gender and Mobility in the Antwerp Songbook", *Itineraria* 8–9 (2009–2010) Parte prima: *Female trails: Historical Sources on Mobility and Gender in the Low Countries (1200–1550)* 165–223.

29   Both # 25 and 29 are also extant in several Low and High German sources, see Houtsma, *De stem en de pen* 48–49.

30   The last two stanzas of this song take on the discourse of a conventional love song: the I persona wants to kiss his beautiful lady, but she suddenly disappears. For this song, the *Zutphen Songbook* is the only extant source, Houtsma, *De stem en de pen* 48–49.

FIGURE 8.5   *Beginning of the song "Vngnad beger ick nicht fan ir" in the Zutphen Songbook*
                   (*hand B). Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, hs. Oct 146, fol. 27v.*
                   IMAGE © HERZOGIN ANNA AMALIA BIBLIOTHEK WEIMAR.

comments and sarcasm in the songs of hand A, as well as the social criticism in two songs by B, remind of student poetry, for Zutphen possibly the male pupils of the chapter school in Zutphen.[31]

The Album of Aefgen van Giblant

I now turn to my second example: the album amicorum of Aefgen van Giblant. Alba amicorum make up an intriguing group of manuscripts. For song, alba compiled by women are the most important ones. The female owner asked family and friends for a contribution: their alba probably never left the family circle or the physical confines of the family home.[32] In other words, these alba can be considered as a kind of guest book. It seems likely that these books went round during gatherings, where texts were read, sung and discussed.[33] Therefore, they reveal the social cultural dynamics of a particular group, centred around the woman who owned the book. Most of them were made in the period before the marriage of the compiler and others show a decline in entries after marriage: so collecting texts in an album is connected to young women.[34] The preferred genre is song, and most important theme is love.[35] There is evidence that the many love songs acquired a special function in the period of courtship, for example in the album of Joanna Bentinck.[36] In such a case,

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31   Leloux, *Het Zutphens Liedboek* 18–19. Song # 33, a bawdy song about a sexual encounter between a monk and a nun, also fits very well in such a student atmosphere.

32   Delen M.-A., "Frauenalben als Quelle: Frauen und Adelskultur im 16. Jahrhundert", in: Klose W. (ed.), *Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 42 (Wiesbaden: 1989) 75–93. For more general information about alba with female or male owners, see the articles by Sophie Reinders and Clara Strijbosch in this volume.

33   Delen, "Frauenalben als Quelle" 78, Strijbosch C., "Sage mir, mit wem du umgehst ... Sammelprinzipien in Liederhandschriften des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts", *Neophilologus* 90 (2006) 401–421, 408.

34   Strijbosch, "Sage mir, mit wem du umgehst ..." 412–414, Oosterman J., "Women's albums: mirrors of international lyrical poetry", in: Dijk S. van – Broomans P. – Meulen J.F. van der – Oostrum P. van (eds.), *'I have heard about you': Foreign women's writing crossing the Dutch border, from Sappho to Selma Lagerlöf* (Hilversum: 2004) 94–99, esp. 96, Brednich, *Die Darfelder Liederhandschrift 1546–1565* 24.

35   Delen, "Frauenalben als Quelle", 77–80.

36   For Joanna Bentinck see the articles of Clara Strijbosch and Sophie Reinders in this volume. Oosterman J. "'Die ik mijn hart wil geven': het album van Joanna Bentinck en de zestiende-eeuwse vrouwenalba", *Literatuur* 19 (2002) 194–202, Joldersma H., "The Gift of Beautiful Words. Women's *Alba Amicorum*", Gemert L. van – Joldersma H. – Marion O. van – Poel D. van der – Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen M.A., *Women's Writing from the Low Countries 1200–1875* (Amsterdam: 2010) 201–213.

the commonplaces and conventional imaginary in these love songs acquired a new layer of meaning in the specific context of a personal album: the love songs had the potential to serve as venue for flirtation and courtly seduction.

The second part of this article will focus on one of such alba, the album of Aefgen van Giblant, which has not yet received much scholarly attention, but it is one of the few alba of which a transcription is available.[37] The cover has her name 'Aefgen claes dochter van Giblant' on the front [Fig. 8.6], her motto on the back: 'eer voor goet is myn gemoet' ('honor before money is my conviction', or: 'my essence favors honor over material goods') and a date: 1599. The format is oblong and the book measures about 6 by 8 inches (14,5 x 20,1 centimeters).

The nicely decorated first page again shows Van Giblant's motto, her initials ACVG, and a date: 1600 [Fig. 8.7]. The book was filled within a rather short period, the four years from 1598–1601, based on the dates written in the book. It has many contributors, for one can discern more than twenty different hands. Names and initials are sprinkled all over the book, among them Hendrick Janssoon Wou (fol. 7r), P.C. Ruichauer (fol. 20v) G.H. de Wiltt (fol. 75r); MEVB (fol. 25r). LvB (fol. 55r and 59r), D.D. (fol. 80r).

Aefgen's name appears on several pages, sometimes almost like a signature.[38] However, they do not appear to have been written by the same hand (those on fol. 68v and 87v seem to be most similar), allowing no conclusions about whether this is actually Aefgen's own handwriting or someone else's [Fig. 8.8]. Apart from the names and dates, we know no biographical details about neither the owner of the manuscript nor the contributors. Identifying the coat of arms [Fig. 8.9] is a desideratum.

The album has 71 songs, supplemented with some poems and maxims, most of them in Dutch, some in French. Occasionally Latin maxims occur, and on the last page even one in Greek.[39] The assembled repertoire consists almost solely of love complaints and love songs. In style, vocabulary, frequent mythological

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37   The album is kept in The Hague, Royal Library, ms. 135 K 36. A transcription of the texts
      by Willem Kuiper can be found in the Dutch Song Database and on: http://cf.hum.uva
      .nl/dsp/scriptamanent/bml/Album_Giblant/Album_Giblant_diplomatisch.pdf
      [accessed: 28 September 2015] (Bibliotheek van de Middelnederlandse Letterkunde,
      edited by Willem Kuiper). All quotations in this article go back to this source. A few pages
      can be consulted at: http://cf.hum.uva.nl/dsp/scriptamanent/bml/Album_Giblant/
      Album_Giblant_facsimile.pdf. See also his columns at *Neder-L*: no. 52: Eer voor goet is
      myn gemoet, no. 54: De Venus van Giblant, no. 55: Een nieuw lied (http://www.neder-l
      .nl/newindex.html?http://www.neder-l.nl/bulletin/2001/01/010126.html, accessed:
      28 September 2015).

38   On fol. 75r (combined with the name G.H. de Wiltt), 68v, 87v (combined with her
      motto), 94r.

39   'Ανεχου χαι απεχου' ('sustain and abstain'), a quote from the Stoic philosopher Epictetus.
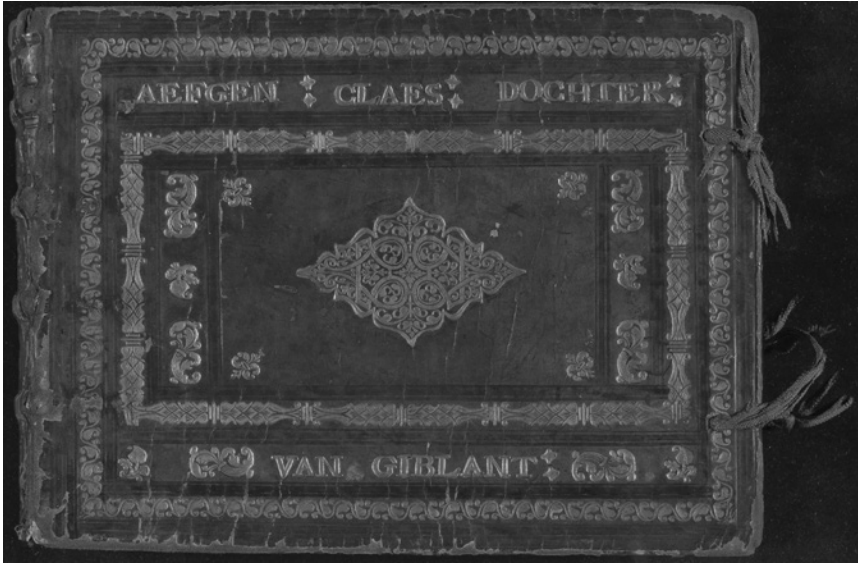
FIGURE 8.6   *Cover of the album of Aefgen Claesdochter van Giblant, with her name, her motto*
and the date 1599. The Hague, Royal Library, ms. 135 K 36.
IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

FIGURE 8.7 *First page of the album Giblant with the motto of Aefgen Claesdochter, her initials A C V G, and a date: 1600. The Hague, Royal Library, ms. 135 K 36, fol. 2r.*

IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.
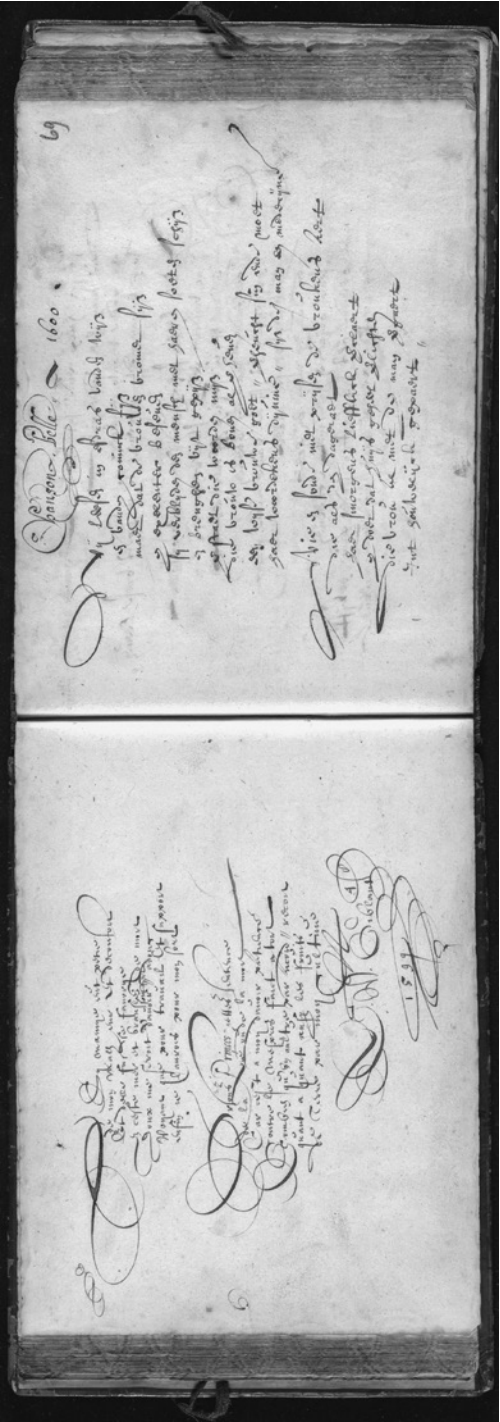
FIGURE 8.8 *Album Giblant. The Hague, Royal Library, ms. 135 K 36, fol. 68v–69r.*
IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

FIGURE 8.9   *Coat of arms in the Album Giblant. The Hague, Royal Library, ms. 135 K 36, fol. 117v.*
IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

references and intricate rhyme schemes the great majority of texts is recogniz-able as the work of rhetoricians. In some cases there is an allusion to the motto of a specific chamber, such as 'True in Love' ('In liefde getrouw', motto of the Haarlem Chamber De Witte Angieren, song # 14) or 'Love is the Foundation' ('Liefde ist fundament', motto of the Leiden Chamber De Witte Acoleyen).[40] These allusions point to a background in well-to-do urban circles in Holland.

There is no musical notation, but many songs are accompanied by a tune indication, or are defined as a 'song' ('liedeken') in the heading. Fourteen out of the fifty-nine tune indications refer to foreign songs, most of them French and English, which reveals a rather international orientation, what we see more often in this period. Two songs have the melody of the well-known English song "Fortune my Foe", as is indicated by the reference 'the English Fortune' ('d'engelse fortuijn', songs # 42, 65).[41] The reference 'Go fro mij wijnde go et go' (# 60) seems to render the title "Go from my window, my love, my dove" only phonetically.[42] The melodies concerned were often quite new in Aefgen's days, since the first contrafacts of these foreign songs in the Low Countries are found in the period around 1600.[43] Such a preference for new melodies might be a characteristic of the musical taste of young people.[44]

About half of the songs (38 out of 71) in Aefgen's album are unique, occur-ring in no other source; the other songs most often appear in no more than one

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40   Also as a separate text on fol. 119v. On fol. 19v the motto of the Haarlem Chamber De Wijngaertrancken: 'Liefde boven al' ('Love above everything') is written down; song # 28 refers to the Gouda Chamber De Goudsbloem, motto 'Uyt jonsten begrepen' ('Started out of affection'), song # 44 to the motto of the Amsterdam Chamber De Egelantier 'In Liefde bloyende' ('Flowering in love'), also as a separate text on fol. 124v. There might be more allusions to chambers of rhetoric and mottos, but it is not always evident if a certain com-bination of words is really intended as an allusion.

41   For this song, see the article of Chistopher Marsh in this volume.

42   The following tune indications mention foreign songs: # 3 'op een engels voysken' ('on an english melody'), # 6 'C'est pour vous belle dame', # 21 'pour vous belle dame', # 23 'La douce face', # 24 'tousjours bon temps', # 40 'noble francoys', # 42 d'engelse fortuijn (= "Fortune my foe") # 43 'op de wyse vanden Engelschen mascerade' ('on the melody of the English mascarade'), # 48 'Lava gotte', # 51 'Brande Joly', # 60 'Go fro mij wijnde go et go' (= "Go from my window, my love, my dove"), # 61 'pasemeghe gracy', # 65 'denghelsche fortuijn' (= "Fortune my foe"), # 67 'passomede Sicille' (= "Passamezzo Cicili") (source: Dutch Song Database).

43   For example melodies # 6, 43, 60, 65 (source: Dutch Song Database).

44   For example, the printer of the *Haerlems Oudt Liedtboek* (ca. 1640) mentions that young people fancy 'spick-speldernieuwe Deuntjes' ('spanking new melodies'), see: Poel D.E. van der (final editing) – Geirnaert D. – Joldersma H. – Oosterman J., *Het Antwerps Liedboek*. Reconstruction of the melodies by Grijp L.P. (Tielt: 2004) vol. 2, 36.

or two other source(s).[45] For another fourteen songs this album is the oldest site.[46] All in all, this album does not represent the popular song of the day, but a rather specific repertoire.

There are, however, two exceptions. The French song "Fortuna helas pourquoij / Rendu tant langoreux" (# 46) was very popular in Dutch alba amicorum, in French (such as in Aefgen's album) as well as in a Dutch reworking.[47] "Wij leesen in Esdras vanden wyn" ("We read in Esdras of the wine", # 50) was a well-known song in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[48] It is quite different in content and style from most of the songs in the album: it is an ode to marriage and the excellence and virtue of wedded women from a Christian perspective. It is a so-called scriptural song: the lyrics are in a large part made up from biblical quotations, and in some other sources the song has explicit marginal references to the quoted parts of the Bible.

Some songs are presented explicitly as a gift. Examples are three New Year songs, offered on the occasion of the beginning of the New Year: 'Receive in gratitude this song from my face / quick, on an impulse I've offered you this song' ('Neempt toch in danck den sanck van myn gesichte / Schier met bedwanck so schanck ick v dit liet', # 2, stanza 5) and 'Pure maiden, I have to give you a salute, offering you this greeting' ('Reyn maecht ick moet v saluteren / Deesen groet v schenckende', # 56, stanza 1).[49] In a love song the I persona asks the doves that draw Venus's carriage to bring 'this paper' ('dit pampier') to the lady (# 65, stanza 7) and yet another song defines itself as a letter: 'therefore I'm writing you this letter' ('dus schryff ick u deesen brief', # 60, stanza 1).[50]

Many songs seem to be tailored to a youthful audience. The lady is addressed as 'pure honorable youth' (# 64), and the I persona describes himself as juvenile, or calls his inner self 'young heart'.[51] The audience is also described as being young: for example song # 22 contains an advice to 'young youth' ('Jonghe

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45   # 1, 5–8, 13–14, 19–27, 30–35, 38–40, 42, 44–45, 47, 49, 54, 56, 59–60, 62, 67–68, 71 (source: Dutch Song Database).

46   # 2, 10–11, 16, 18, 28, 43, 48, 51–53, 58, 64, 69 (source: Dutch Song Database).

47   The Dutch Song Database refers to ten sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

48   The Dutch Song Database refers to twelve sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The song has the acrostichon Wibo. The author, Joris Wybo, was a vicar in Antwerp and London. In 1582 his collection *Gheestelijcke Liedekens* was published in Antwerp.

49   The third New Year's song is # 41.

50   Song # 67 calls the song a gift as well: 'Neemt in danck t present cranck / van dyt lyet seer claechtich' ('Receive in gratitude this modest gift, this complaint song', stanza 4).

51   'myn jongher hert': song # 7, see juvenile I persona in: 23–24, 29–30, 69.

Jeuchden') to take the unhappy I persona as an example (his love will lead to his death). Similarly, the I persona in song # 61 advises 'young souls' ('jonghe gheesten') not to follow his example in love, but to look before they leap.

However, many songs seem to be aimed at a particular woman, at Aefgen van Giblant herself. Eight entries are specifically made for her, as the texts have an acrostic on her name or her initials,[52] such as song # 8 that spells out 'Aefghen Claes van Ghiblant' in the first letters of each line [Fig. 8.10]. This song is a love complaint with conventional wording and motifs: an I persona asks his beloved to keep on thinking of him now that he goes away. Another man entered "Als ick scheyden moet" ("If I have to part", # 43) with Aefghen's full name in large capitals at the beginning of each line [Fig. 8.11]. In this song the I persona does not ask for her love, but describes the agony of being away from her and affirms his loyalty to her. The same hand continues with another song containing the acrostic ACVG: "Aurora claer / blinckende eerbaer" ("Fair Aurora, shining honourable", # 44) recalls how Cupid broke his heart and Venus made his body suffer, and ends by asking the lady to stay with him. Both songs seem to form a triplet with # 42 ("Eylaes ick ly / in myn hert swaer tourment" ("Alas my heart suffers terribly")), which has some word play on Aefgen's name, while it mentions, in capitals, the gem agate (although the pun on the word *Agaet* ("agate") would have been better if her name was *Aagje* instead of *Aefgen*):[53]

> But what am I to do now that I must lack
> the most beautiful agate; nowhere on earth
> is such a beautiful gem, sapphire nor diamond
> that beats the pretty agate.[54]

Apart from these songs, some other texts have acrostics, such as a refrain after song 21 with the full acrostic 'Aefgen Claes van Giblant', an entry signed with the initials UAV. It opens with: 'written for you, with affection'. The I persona asks for her love and loyalty, referring to famous couples such as Piramus and

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52 Three songs: # 8, 43–44; five poems: a refrain after song 21 on fol. 29v, a poem after song 52 on fol. 75v and three palindromic verses on fol. 75v, 80v and 82v.

53 For songs # 42 and 44 Van Giblant's album is the only extant source; song # 43 also occurs in the *Princesse Liet-boec* printed in Amsterdam by Hendrick Barentsz in 1605 (song # 101). The acrostic is not entirely true, but still clearly recognisable. In Van Giblant's album song # 42 is signed with the initials LvB.

54 'Maer nv wat raet dewyl ick deruen moet / De schoonste AGAET in swerelts eruen soet / Gheen steen soo schoon saphier noch diamant / Die spant de croon / bouen d'agaet playsant.'
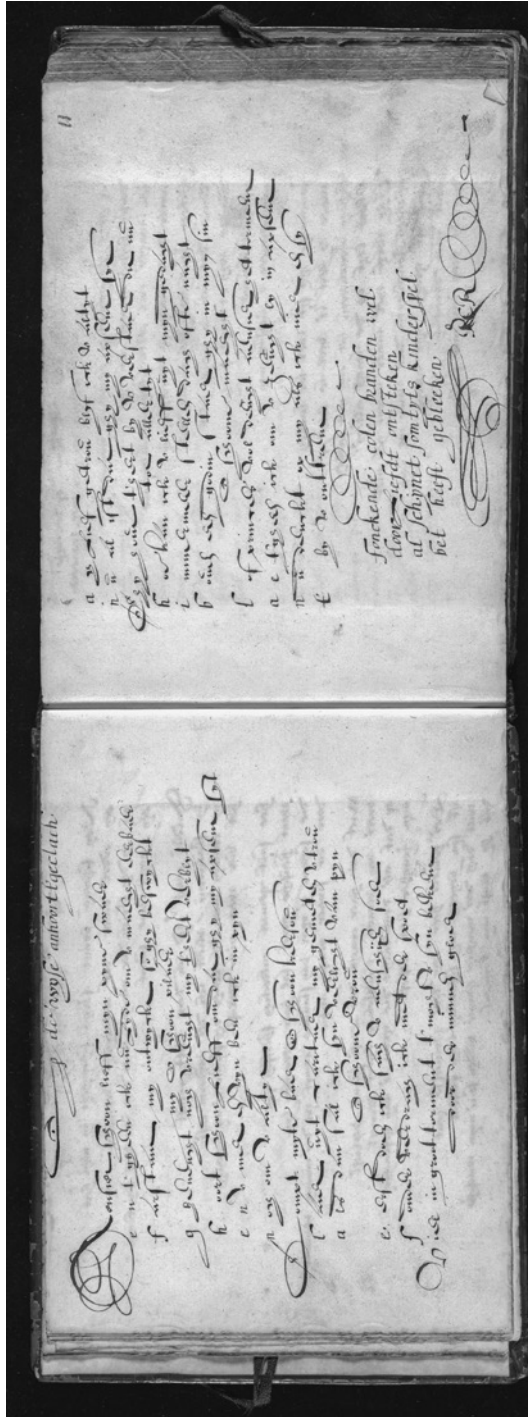
FIGURE 8.11 *Album Giblant. The Hague, Royal Library, ms. 135 K 36, fol. 59v–60r.*
IMAGE © ROYAL LIBRARY THE HAGUE.

Thisbe, and Floris and Blansefleur. Quite ingenious are three very short poems (fol. 75v, 80v, 82v) entitled 'Retrograde' (this term designate that the lines of the poem can be read not only from the first to the last word, but also from the last to the first, thus resulting in two different poems), all three featuring the initials ACVG and asking the lady to be kind. Two of them show a double acrostic: 'HMVS' (referring to initials?) and 'HVVGO'; the latter might be the first name of the contributor, Hugo.

The initials that accompany these texts show that various men used the same ploy to impress Van Giblant: dedicating a skilful song or poem to her. Through the combination of the acrostic, the initials and the direct address to the beloved, these amateur poets present themselves in their work as her suitors.

Likewise focused on Aefgen van Giblant personally are some songs containing allusions to her motto: 'my essence favors honor over material goods' ('eer voor goet is mijn gemoet'). Song 16 for example, advises youngsters to pay attention to honour, instead of money:

> Listen you daughters and young men,
> Whoever you are, young or old,
> When you want to start courting
> And desire to get married
> Don't you dedicate your heart not too much
> To money and property
> But look for virtue and honour
> Whatever you do.[55]

Another example is to be found in song # 66, stanza 3:

> Nowadays no one cares
> for a personal [standing] or family,
> or virtue or honour
> only for wealth and power.[56]

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[55] 'Hoort ghy dochters en gesellen / Wie ghy syt ionck ofte out / Die v tot vryen gaet stellen / En so gaeren waert gehout / En stelt v hert niet also seer / Na gelt en goet / Maer voor al soeckt deucht en eere / Wat ghy doet.'

[56] 'Want men vraecht nu niet meer / naer parsoon off gheslachte / noch naer deucht ende eer / maer naer ryckdom en machte.'

In addition, in song # 35 an I persona recounts how he was once with his beloved in a beautiful meadow near a fountain and surrounded by all kinds of birds. In the last stanza he offers the song to his 'honorable princess', asserting that for him honor is more important than gold, which seems to be, again, an allusion to Van Giblant's motto.[57]

But there is more. On the whole, the collection creates an impression of intimacy. The love song is the most important genre by far in Van Giblant's album, figuring an I persona who praises the looks of the lady, expresses his hopes for love in return or asks the lady for her faithfulness. And in all these songs the lady is addressed in person, in the second person singular ('ghi', 'thou'), and she is called 'My beautiful darling', 'dear beloved', 'pure honourable lady', 'princess'.[58] In other words, a very personal discourse is found not only in entries containing an acrostic, but in most of the other songs as well. At the same time, these songs were written down by many different hands, which raises the question whether they reflect the actual suitors of Van Giblant in real life. Given the number of contributors to Van Giblant's album, more than twenty, this seems rather unlikely. The use of particular themes and imagery probably had another function. The songs can be regarded as a symbolic repertoire which helps to define singers and listeners alike as a particular community, delineated by the knowledge and dextrous use of an elegant textual style and recent melodies.[59]

Apparently this was the literary culture in Van Giblant's environment: all these contributors wanted to show their identity as well-educated men thoroughly acquainted with fashionable love poetry, by using conventional motifs and imaginary, and many references to ancient mythology.[60] Rather than functioning as an actual vehicle for courtship these songs seem to be a means of

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57   Song # 35 is unique to Van Giblant's album, and # 16 only appears at a later date in a manuscript owned by Ariaenke de Gyselaer (1600–1602, Rotterdam, Gemeentebibliotheek 96 E 13), which indicates that these songs were made especially for her. However, this seems not to be the case with song 66, which is also known from the Songbook of Antonis van Butevest (ca. 1590, Leiden, Gemeentearchief, Gildenarchief 1474) and from the *Amoreuse liedekens*, printed in Amsterdam, probably after 1613.

58   The lady (Aefgen van Giblant?) is addressed frequently as honorable: for example: 'maecht eerbaer' (4, 8, 24, 31A, 52, 54), 'princes eerbaer' (2, 33, 35), 'lieff vol eeren' (34, 40, 50, 53), 'eerbaer jonkvrouw' (1, 21), 'lieff eersaem' (34). The address of the Prince, the honorary chairman of the Chamber of Rhetoric, is a conventional element of Rhetorician's poetry. The address of a princess is a frequently found variant on this.

59   Cf. Willis – James – Canaan – Hurd, *Common Culture* 68–71.

60   Song # 28 and 69 contain many classical references, see also: song # 21, 25–27, 29, 33, 40, 42, 44–45, 47–49, 54, 56, 59, 62.

enhancing a feeling of belonging to a selective group which is able to appreci-
ate this delicate poetry.

Some of the songs add an important element to this. Remarkable are two
songs that at first glance seem to show a cheerful aspect of youth culture: in
one song (# 3) the I persona goes out for a walk, encounters Venus and her
companion in the open air and is welcomed by lovely maidens who bring him
roses and tarts, and embrace him. But then a drizzle begins to fall (and here
the poem takes a notable turn): he asserts that in the end the hour of death
will come for everybody.[61] Another song is an appeal to 'youngsters' ('Jonghe
sinnen') to go to the woods and have fun together, singing and dancing, loving
and feasting (# 13), but this song ends in a different atmosphere as well: the
last stanza emphasizes the importance of honoring God.[62] Both songs show a
fantasy world, in a nature setting with many references to mythology: nature
is represented here as the realm of the goddess of love, where young people
can enjoy themselves. The songs offer the opportunity to explore imaginary
worlds, apparently far away from the usual restraints of society, but in the end
definitely connected to Christian morality.

Some other songs are dedicated solely to the expression of Christian prin-
ciples, such as song # 50, the already mentioned ode to the honorable married
wife in a Christian perspective. Likewise, "Het eerste gebodt" ("The first com-
mandment", song # 11) is a praise of Christian marriage, that should be based
on love and lead to the production of offspring.[63] "Laet ons Godt loven / en nu
de gracy singhen" ("Lets praise the Lord and sing His grace", song # 37) is an ode
to the Lord who provides mankind with everything necessary: therefore we
should be grateful.[64] The religious songs, proclaiming Christian values, offer an
emphatic counterbalance against the worldly atmosphere of the love songs.[65]
They add an important frame to the overall theme of human love: while a
woman may be admired, her goal in life must be to become a respectable wed-
ded wife in accordance with the dictates of the church.

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61   This song occurs in two other sources: the alba amicorum of Styntgen Jacops Dochter
      (which has nine songs of which four are to be found in Van Giblant's album as well; date:
      1562/1599 (Cambridge, University Library, Dd.6.49) and in the *Nieuwen Jeucht Spieghel*,
      printed in 1620 (Dutch Song Database).

62   This song is extant only in Van Giblant's album.

63   This song also appears in *Dit is een suyverlijck Boecxken*, a collection of religious songs
      printed in Amsterdam, circa 1617.

64   This song is known from four other sources as well, dating from 1591–1613 (Dutch Song
      Database).

65   The songs 3, 5, 11, 13 and 37 are probably written down by the same person.

Conclusion

For both the Zutphen Songbook and the album of Aefgen van Giblant almost no biographical details of the authors, singers or writers are available. Nevertheless both provide a repertoire particularly aimed at young people, and as such witness the existence of a connection between youth and song already in the sixteenth century. Likewise, they offer significant information about the use of song in the social circles where they came from. As such they are good examples of how handwritten books may offer a unique opportunity to get an idea of the shared values of the circles were they originated and of the ways in which song was used to test, express, and establish such values. The songs can be interpreted as a mean to construct and display youth identity: the lyrics constitute a symbolic repertoire by which the members of the singing group could construct and express who they are or what they want to be.

At the same time, there are significant differences between the repertoires. In the Zutphen Songbook, we interpreted the songs as a place for having fun, celebrating togetherness, performing and role playing, and an opportunity to discuss potential behavior in love, as well as to give voice to sarcastic views on women. All these elements seem to argue in favor of a group of (young, male) students. Aefgen van Giblant's album seems to be the witness of another group's culture: here the art of poetry and the knowledge of new, foreign melodies were important means to show one's standing. The singers often display themselves as educated poets, acquainted with the delicate language of love poetry. Instead of sarcasm we see the idealizing of women and female charms. However, the intense interest in the theme of love takes on another dimension with the values of Christian faith. Those religious songs seem to steer young women to their ultimate goal in life: to become a respectable wife in a honorable marriage. As a common characteristic, the songs in both manuscripts are appropriate for young people of a marriageable age and can be considered as companions in times of courtship.

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Oppositional Political Identity in the Song Culture of the *Vormärz* and the 1848 Revolution in Germany

David Robb

Historically political song has often been perceived negatively, as a disturbance of the peace, summed up by the legendary line from Goethe's *Faust*: 'Politisches Lied—ein garstiges Lied'. In the period in Germany of the *Vormärz* (from 1815 up to the revolution of March 1848), however, we see how this perception may be changing as it increasingly becomes a means of self-expression in public life. This was the era of restoration, a particularly volatile political period in which broader sections of German society are striving for emancipation from the princes and kings. A whole host of political themes emerge in the songs (*Freiheitslieder*) of that period in which a new oppositional consciousness is reflected. The themes range from freedom of speech, freedom from censorship, and the need for democratic and national self-determination to critiques of injustice and hunger, and parodies of political convention and opportunism. Sources of reception give indications about the social and political milieus in which these songs circulated. Such sources include broadsheets, handwritten manuscripts, song collections, commemoration events, advertisements in political press, memoires, police reports and general literature of the time.[1] In many cases we see how these songs reflect the emerging social and political identities of those who sing them. One also sees the use of well known melodies in the popular dissemination of these songs. An intertextual function of music often becomes apparent in the practice of contrefacture whereby melodies with particular semantic associations are used to either underline the message or parody the subject of the song.

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1 These sources have been located in the course of a collaborative research project of David Robb and Eckhard John on 'Lieder der Revolution von 1848 und ihre Rezeptionsgeschichte in Deutschland' funded by the British Academy (2008–2009) and the Arts & Humanities Research Council—Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (2009–2012). Song commentaries and critical editions have been published on the 'Liederlexikon' website of the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv Freiburg: http://www.liederlexikon.de/ueber_liederlexikon_de/projekte/ahrc-dfg_projekt.

These songs arose in a historical and political context which began with Napoleon's defeat and the treaty of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 which aimed to restore Europe to its pre-1789 monarchical condition. From that point up until the 1848 Revolution the leading states of the German Confederation, Prussia and Austria, held to an absolutist course suppressing constitutional reforms. While certain southern German states (e.g. Baden and Bavaria) were able to introduce constitutions and elected parliaments, the Austrian Chancellor Metternich applied constant pressure on the German Confederation to keep liberalising forces at bay. The Karlsbad Decrees of 1819, for example, affirmed a strict censorship of the press and banned subversive teachers from universities.[2] Amidst such repression over the next three decades, associations including the nationalist orientated student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*) took on an extra-parliamentary political function. An alternative culture of festivals, critical journalism and poetry and songs printed on unofficial broadsheets and fliers emerged across Germany. This occurred particularly in the southern states and in the Rhineland, which had been exposed to democratising Napoleonic influence the longest. Further clampdowns in the wake of the 1830 July Revolution in France resulted in the exodus of many writers, intellectuals and conspirators to liberal centres abroad such as Brussels, London, Zurich and Paris. These exiles continued to exert a political influence on the German states as their ideas were constantly relayed back home.[3] They also included the travelling craftsmen, who like many rural and small traders were under threat from the rampant industrialisation which was causing major social upheaval. Problems of proletarianisation were exacerbated by starvation which swept agrarian sections of the economy in the mid to late 1840s. Throughout that decade the political debates gained in intensity particularly in the councils of deputies in the southern states with populist radical spokesmen such as Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struwe in Baden and Robert Blum in Saxony. An increasing radicalisation of public space could be seen in the role of the political press, for example, the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels at the *Rheinische Zeitung* from 1842–1843 and in the political lyric of poets such as Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Georg Herwegh and Ferdinand Freiligrath.[4] The culmination of these developments was the March revolutions in 1848 in Germany and Austria, triggered by the February Revolution in France. After the initial successes, which resulted in the formation of national assemblies in Frankfurt and Berlin and a democratic government in Vienna, the Prussian

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2   Sperber J., *Revolutionary Europe 1780–1850* (Harlow: 2000) 342.

3   Nipperdey T., *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck 1800–1866* (Dublin: 1996) 331.

4   Ibidem 345.

and Austrian monarchical powers gradually regained the political initiative, a task made easier by an opposition characterized by in-fighting between its liberals and radicals.

The songs examined in this chapter form a representative cross-section of socially critical songs from this period, from the oppositional Hambach Festival of 1832 up until the 1848 Revolution and its ultimate defeat in 1849. They deal specifically with the themes of anti-monarchical protest, literary censorship, industrial exploitation and hunger, political refugees, the memory of the 1848 revolutionary icons Robert Blum and Friedrich Hecker, and finally the defeat itself. The reception of these chosen songs reveals particularly detailed information about their origins and the social milieu in which they were sung or disseminated.

An appropriate starting point is the song "Fürsten zum Land hinaus" ("Princes, Get Out"). This was widely sung at one of the most significant mass events of the German *Vormärz*, the Hambach Festival, which took place near Neustadt in the Pfalz from 27–30 May 1832. Inspired by the July 1830 Revolution in France it brought together over 20.000 liberals and democrats expressing their oppositional consensus. Songs played a significant role there in the expression of political identities. Brophy relates how the "Marseillaise" was the first song in a twelve-song programme pamphlet of the festival.[5] Records of reception of "Fürsten zum Land hinaus" indicate that this was circulated as a broadsheet. The song attacks the various kings and princes who reigned throughout the kingdoms and principalities of Germany and Austria. For that reason it was treated as treason by the authorities.

> Fürsten zum Land hinaus!
> Jetzt kommt der Völkerschmaus,
>   Fort!
>
> Erst schubt den Kaiser Franz;
> Dann den im Siegeskranz.
>   Schub!
>
> Baiernland ins Gewehr!
> Ludewig reimt nicht mehr.
>   Weh!

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5   *Die Drei Sterne. Festgesang bei dem deutschen Maifest auf dem Hambacher Schloss am 27. Mai 1832* (Neustadt: 1832) 2. Referenced in Brophy J., *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800–1850* (Cambridge: 2007) 58.

Adlig Hannoverland,
Du wirst zur Affenschand.
    Pfui!

Sachsen, wo bleibt Ihr dann?
Der Mitregent muß dran.
    Auf!

[…][6]

The satire of royalty also functioned on a musical level. It was widespread practice in oppositional songs of this period to use popular melodies to enhance a song's potential for being sung in communal situations. "Fürsten zum Land hinaus", for example, was given the popular melody "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" (originally "God Save the King"), which was the melody for the royal anthem of Prussia and indeed of most German principalities at the time. The use of a royalist melody to satirise royalty enhanced the caricature of authority inherent in "Fürsten zum Land hinaus".[7]

Police reports reveal much speculation about the particular disseminators of the song. In the aftermath of the festival a search was instigated to identify its author, widely suspected to be Wilhelm Sauerwein (1803–1847) who was in attendance at Hambach alongside his literary colleague Friedrich Funck (1804–1857) and a certain Germain Metternich. The latter subsequently testified to the police that Funck had identified Sauerwein to him as the author of the text, only for this to be denied by Funck in interrogation.[8] Sauerwein was

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6 These are the first five verses of a sixteen verse version of the song which was printed on a flier entitled "Das deutsche Treibjagen" ("The German Hunt"); contained in a 'Sammlung von Liedern zum Hambacher Fest' (1832). Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Shelf Mark DB 503z.

7 There was not, however, a uniformly disseminated melody for this text. Already in 1832 a motif from G. Rossini's popular opera "Der Barbier von Sevilla" ("The Barber from Seville") (1816) was being used for a waltz which had emanated from the festival and became known as the "Hambacher". A report on student singing in Jena from the year 1835 even refers to "Fürsten zum Land hinaus" being sung to a combination of both these melodies: the first verse to the tune of "God Save the King" and the second to the 'schnellfüßigen Hambacher'. See Forsch, *Studentenbilder oder Deutschlands Arminen und Germanen* 206. For more detailed information on the melodies for this song see Robb D. – John E. (eds.), "Fürsten zum Land hinaus", commentary and critical editions, http://www.liederlexikon.de/fuersten_zum_land_hinaus (uploaded 2013).

8 See original files of the trial of Sauerwein in the report of the interrogation of Metternich on 30 July 1834, Criminalia 1834 Nr. 122/176 Fasc. Spec. 78f. 8. Referenced in Steinitz W. (ed.),

already becoming known to the authorities as a trouble maker for his distribution of revolutionary writings including his *ABC-Buch der Freiheit*.[9] As well as songs, he wrote political articles for magazines and also humorous plays in Frankfurt dialect. Police reports also speculated on the identity of the song's composer, suspecting Christoph Freyeisen (1803–1849), another colleague of Sauerwein and Funck from the Frankfurt literary scene.[10] According to Hartwig Brandt these three had come from a petit-bourgeois-proletarian background and had studied together in Heidelberg in the late 1820s. They were the leaders of an oppositional literary circle known as the 'Frankfurter Brückenkolleg'.[11] Although it has never been confirmed, it is a good possibility that the origins of the song lie somewhere within this circle and that not one but rather several people were involved in its creation.[12]

From the reports we hear of how the song was distributed as a revolutionary flier and sung in pubs and at the festival events predominantly by young members of the student fraternities.[13] It then spread out after the festival all over south Germany, and was sung, for example, at further oppositional events such as on the Dreifaltigkeitsberg and at Whitsun on the Niederwalde.[14] In Jena it was sung by oppositional student fraternity members at the Fürstenkeller almost every night and on New Year's night of 1832–1833 during a singing battle between members of the two rival fraternity groups *Armenia* and *Germania*.[15]

Deutsche Volkslieder demokratischen Charakters aus sechs Jahrhunderten, vol. II (Berlin: 1962) 24–25.

9   Meier J., "Das sogenannte 'Heckerlied'", in idem, *Volksliedstudien*, vol. VIII (Strassbourg: 1917) 216–231, esp. 216.

10   Report entitled 'Vortrag der Bundes-Central-Behörde über das am 27. Mai 1832 stattgehabte Hambacher Fest'. (8 April 1835). Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Shelf Mark DB 8/4. The melody Freyeisen was suspected of writing is included at the end of that report and was the original 'round' version of the song which was allegedly derived from a motif by Rossini. See Robb – John, "Fürsten zum Land hinaus".

11   Brandt H. (ed.), *Restauration und Frühliberalismus 1814–1840* (Darmstadt: 1979) 76.

12   Werner Kowalski wrote: 'Vom Frankfurter Brückenkolleg ist dieses Lied vor dem Hambacher Fest ausgegangen', in "Die Volksagitation in der freien Stadt Frankfurt nach dem Wachensturm vom April 1833", in Bartmuß H.J. – Hübner H. – Leidigkeit K.H. (eds.), *Die Volksmassen. Gestalter der Geschichte* (Berlin: 1962) 154–174, esp. 163.

13   The aforementioned report from the Bundesarchiv, 'Vortrag der Bundes-Central-Behörde über das am 27. Mai 1832 stattgehabte Hambacher Fest' confirms that the song "Fürsten zu Land hinaus" was disseminated before and during the Hambach Festival. It also mentions the song in connection to Wilhelm Sauerwein.

14   Glossy K. (ed.), *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft* 21 (1912) XXIII–XXIV.

15   Grupe W., "Fritz Reuters gerichtliche Aussage über das Lied 'Fürsten zum Lande hinaus'" (Nach Protokollen des Deutschen Zentralarchivs, Abteilung Merseburg), *Deutschunterricht* 14 (1961) 44.

The latter was a more radical group, one of the new oppositional secret societies which had formed as a response to the increased scrutiny of the democratic movement by Metternich's secret police in the aftermath of the French July Revolution of 1830, the Hambach Festival and the passing of new repressive laws by the Frankfurt Federal Assembly. Such groups hoped to overthrow the feudal system by using putsch tactics.[16] The *Germania* fraternity was involved in the storming of the Frankfurt Guardhouse of April 1833. Memoires reveal that the anti-royalist song "Fürsten zum Land hinaus" was sung during this insurgency. As Glossy writes, the students mounted their attack '[u]nter Hurrarufen und unter Absingung des Liedes "Fürsten zum Land hinaus"'.[17] Due to poor organisation, however, the revolt was quashed by the army and twenty of the students were arrested.[18] The subsequent widespread repression by the secret police resulted in a large wave of refugees to Switzerland, France and the USA.

The singing of political songs also played a function in areas of the public sphere where politics merged with leisure time. For example, we hear from literary reports how "Fürsten zum Land hinaus" was sung on Sunday excursions in the Kurhessen countryside undertaken by petit bourgeois democrats and travelling craftsmen in the years 1833–1834. According to Kowalski, this had a propagandistic function in view of the lack of a political public sphere.[19] There are further reports in literary memoires of the painter Alfred Rethel (1816–1859) of the song being sung on walks along the Rhine: '[A]uf dem weinseligen Heimweg Abends [wurde] erst die Marseillaise, dann "Fürsten zum Land hinaus" gesungen.' Rethel's report goes to mention a boat trip to Frankfurt where oppositional songs resounded in the presence of 'der "Demagog" Funk' [sic] and 'der "Demagog" Sauerwein'. This again brings the song into association with these two literary figures who were interrogated on suspicion of having written the song.[20]

The apparent readiness of the liberal classes to sing such oppositional songs in public, as indicated above, is all the more striking when one considers the punishments meted out to disseminators of "Fürsten zum Land hinaus". The student fraternity member Fritz Reuter, for example, was charged with 'insulting royalty' and sentenced to have his head chopped off for singing this

16   Steinitz, *Deutsche Volkslieder* 89.

17   Glossy, *Literarische Geheimberichte* XIX.

18   See also Lönnecker H., "Der Frankfurter Wachensturm 1833 – 175 Jahre Aufstand für nationale Einheit und Freiheit", *Burschenschaftliche Blätter* 123, 3 (2008) 111–118.

19   Kowalski, "Die Volksagitation in der freien Stadt Frankfurt" 161.

20   Pecht F., *Deutsche Künstler des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Studien und Erinnerungen* (Nördlingen: 1887) 153.

song on the evening of 12th July 1832 on the Jena market place. This was later reduced to a thirty year prison sentence.[21] A further case was that of Georg Stammberger from Schney, who was sentenced in 1834 in Bamberg for high treason to eight years in prison, six years of which he had to endure. He had received a printed copy of "Fürsten zum Land hinaus" from a student in Heidelberg and sung the song in public in Coburg.[22] Police vigilance was also visible in Leipzig where a Metternich agent reported on 30th November 1840 about a literary club that secretly disseminated oppositional political views, in particular mentioning an evening in which the members roared '[a]lle die großen revolutionären Lieder, zum Beispiel "Fürsten zum Land hinaus"' as well as many 'Burschenschaftslieder'.[23] As a result of such repression the song was not published at all in Germany.[24] Consequently it only appeared in publications of exiles abroad, for example, in 1835 and 1841 in song collections of German *émigrés* in Paris.[25] Even the singing of the song in exile could result in punishment at home, however. The travelling craftsman Johann Gottfried Lucas was sentenced in 1840 to two years in prison for being observed singing along with "Fürsten zum Land hinaus" in Switzerland.[26]

In the course of the 1848 Revolution "Fürsten zum Land hinaus" gained a renewed relevance, its theme also becoming the subject of interest in the medium of satirical images. Political caricaturists used the symbolism of the title in a particularly acute way, as seen in the case of the graphic images 'Deutscher Hofball 1848' ('German Court Ball 1848') [Fig. 9.1] and 'Wie der deutsche Michel ein Treibjagen abhält' ('How the German Michel prevents a chase') [Fig. 9.2] published by Eduard Gustav May in Frankfurt.

In the period of the Vormärz political exile provided a rich breeding ground for protest songs. The aforementioned Wilhelm Sauerwein had escaped arrest

21   Grupe, "Fritz Reuters gerichtliche Aussage" 43–44.

22   Radunz E., "Johann Georg Stammberger, ein Porzellanmaler und Freiheitskämpfer", in *Fränkische Heimat am Obermain. Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Meranier-Gymnasiums Lichtenfels* 10 (1972–1973) 15–22.

23   Adler H. (ed.), *Literarische Geheimberichte. Protokolle der Metternich-Agenten*, vol. 1, *1840– 1843* (Cologne: 1977) 68–69.

24   In a publication about the student fraternities from 1835 only three verses are quoted from the song, which is referred to as 'der bekannte Hambacher'. The following reason is given: 'Die ersten 37 Verse müssen wir aus bekannten Gründen hier weglassen.' Forsch H., *Studentenbilder oder Deutschlands Arminen und Germanen in den Jahren 1830– 1833* (Hamburg: 1835) 206–207.

25   *Eine Sammlung Volkslieder* (Paris: 1835) 95, and *Volksklänge. Patriotische Lieder* (Paris: 1841) 104–107.

26   Kowalski, "Die Volksagitation in der freien Stadt Frankfurt" 163.

FIGURE 9.1   *"Deutscher Hofball 1848" (Frankfurt am Main, Eduard Gustav May: 1848). Freiburg, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, G 1/2472.*
IMAGE © DEUTSCHES VOLKSLIEDARCHIV FREIBURG.

FIGURE 9.2   *"Wie der deutsche Michel ein Treibjagen abhält"* (*Frankfurt am Main, Eduard
                Gustav May: 1848). Freiburg, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, G 1/2472.*
                IMAGE © DEUTSCHES VOLKSLIEDARCHIV FREIBURG.

for his conspiratorial activities in the Frankfurter 'Brückenkolleg' by fleeing to
Switzerland in the spring of 1834.[27] It was there that he wrote and published
"Wenn die Fürsten fragen, was macht Absalon?" ("If the Princes ask what is
Absalon doing?") in 1835.[28] In its several variations this song was to achieve
considerable dissemination up until the 1848 Revolution. As the first publica-
tion indicates, it was sung to the melody of "Hat man brav gestritten" ("If One

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27   By the autumn of 1833 the Frankfurter 'Brückenkolleg' had taken on a more conspiratorial
      form in its aim to mobilize craftsmen and smallholders and secretly practiced the use of
      weapons in the countryside. It was also highly active in the distribution of political broad-
      sheets which led to Funck being arrested in late March 1834 and Sauerwein and Freyeisen
      fleeing to Switzerland. Brandt, *Restauration* 76.

28   Sauerwein W. (ed.), *Gedichte aus der Zeit und für die Zeit. Von Wilhelm Sauerwein* (Biel:
      1835) 30. Later also printed in *Demokratisches Taschenbuch für 1848* (Leipzig: 1847) 315.

Has Competed Bravely") from the popular lyrical drama (*Singspiel*) *Der alte Feldherr* (*The Old Commander*) by Karl von Holtei which was first performed in 1825. Witty and jovial in mood, "Wenn die Fürsten fragen" takes a defiant tone in the declared readiness of the refugees to fight for the dream of freedom. 'Absalon' is a reference to the biblical figure of Absalom, a son of King David, who challenged the power of his father by raising a military insurrection against him. In this respect the name Absalon stands symbolically for the refugees. The refrain plays on the image of the fate of Absalom whose long hair was caught in the branches of a tree while he was fleeing on his horse, this resulting in his strangulation.[29] Thus in answer to the question of the song 'Was macht Absalon?', the hero is revealed to be still 'hanging', not from the branches of a tree or a hangman's noose, but rather to the dream of a republic: 'Ei, der hänget schon / Doch an keinem Baume / Doch an keinem Strick / Sondern an dem Traume / Einer Republik.' The tragic death of Absalon can be related to the fate of many emigrants who were prepared to fight for their ideals but in many cases endured a miserable life in foreign exile. This contradiction is expressed in the song in the admission that the *émigrés* are torn between rebellion and the fact of their naked survival; in this respect their idealism is described as amounting to a desperate prank:

> Wollen sie gar wissen,
> Wie's dem Flüchtling geht;
> Sprecht: der ist zerrissen,
> Wo ihr ihn beseht.
> Nichts blieb ihm auf Erden
> Als Verzweiflungsstreich
> Und Soldat zu werden
> Für ein freies Reich.[30]

The impact of this song at that time is apparent from the memoires of those who sang it. Wilhelm Liebknecht remembered how the song cheered the refugees up in the long years of exile in which he himself felt 'torn'.[31] The author Gustav Freytag (1816–1895) found the two levels of rebellion and existential misery reflected in the third verse, which challenges the princes

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29   2. Samuel 18, 9–15.

30   Sauerwein, *Gedichte aus der Zeit* 315.

31   Liebknecht W., *Erinerungen eines Soldaten der Revolution* (Berlin: 1976) 112. Originally published in "Drei Tage in den Kasematten von Rastatt", *Illustrierter Neue-Welt-Kalender* (Hamburg – Stuttgart: 1895) 43–47.

to give their big purple coats to the refugees to be used as trousers for their army of freedom. He wrote: 'Das Lied mit seinen unbilligen Ansprüchen an die fürstliche Garderobe drückt genau die Gemütsstimmung der deutschen Flüchtlinge in diesen Jahren aus: wilde Bummelei, untilgbaren Respekt—im Innern hoffnungsarme Entsagung.'[32] These lines convey the almost futile idealism of the refugees, which corresponds to the image of the author, Wilhelm Sauerwein, handed down in literature.[33] Sauerwein endured poor health and did not survive the poverty of exile. After Switzerland he lived for eight years in Paris (1836–1844) where he attempted to make a living as a teacher, returning seriously ill to Frankfurt where he died in 1847.

The wide dissemination of "Wenn die Fürsten fragen" from 1835 up until the revolution of 1848–1849 was reflected in oral transmissions and songbook publications. Its popularity was confirmed by memoires of contemporary witnesses such as Wilhelm Liebknecht who remembered it, alongside "Hecker hoch! Dein Name schalle" ("Hail Hecker! Your Name Resounds"), as one of the favourite songs of his comrades during the 1848 Revolution.[34] The verse about Absalon 'hanging' to the dream of the republic, even appeared in two further political songs of these years: "Und im Kerker saßen zu Frankfurt an dem Main" ("Sitting in the Dungeon in Frankfurt on the Main"),[35] a song about the escape from jail in 1837 of students who had stormed the Frankfurt Guardhouse in 1833, and "Wenn die Leute fragen, lebt der Hecker noch" ("When the People Ask if Hecker's Still Alive"), in which the name of Absalon was altered to celebrate the revolutionary leader Friedrich Hecker.

Many of the other burning political themes of the time were expressed in song of the *Vormärz* period. One of these themes was censorship. To stem democratic tendencies the German Confederation, encouraged by the Austrian Foreign Minister Metternich, had passed the Karlsbad Decrees on 20th September 1819. As a result all printed material which amounted to less than 20 brackets (roughly 320 pages) was subject to censorship. As evident from the reaction to "Fürsten zum Land hinaus", the censor would intervene

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32   Freytag G., *Karl Mathy. Geschichte seines Lebens* (Leipzig: 1870) 48.

33   See for example Heinrich Schmidt who describes Sauerwein as 'ein liebenswürdiger Mensch, aber doch voll Feuer und Eifer für die gute Sache und durchglüht von jenem Idealismus', der damals in der deutschen bürgerlichen Jugend lebte (Schmidt H., *Die deutschen Flüchtlinge in der Schweiz 1833–1836* (Zürich: 1899; Dissertation Bern: 1898) 52–53; 149.

34   Liebknecht W., *Robert Blum und seine Zeit* (Nuremberg: 1889) 377–378.

35   The earliest source is a handwritten text in the Liederbuch III of Johann Philipp Brühl from Hennethal (Untertaunuskreis), 1846. Deutsche Volksliedarchiv: A 80182.

above all when state institutions or monarchs or public figures were criticized or mocked.[36] A poem from 1843, "Sah ein Fürst ein Büchlein stehn" ("A Prince Saw a Little Book Standing") dealt with precisely this subject. It was written by the Hamburger lawyer Leberecht Dreves as a parody of Goethe's "Sah ein Knab ein Röslein stehn" ("A Boy Saw a Little Rose Standing") and functions as a satire of literary censorship itself. The humour in the song is dependent on the audience's collusion with the subject matter, namely that the dealing in secretly subversive literature was a widespread phenomenon in the *Vormärz*:

> Sah ein Fürst ein Büchlein stehn
> In des Ladens Ecken,
> Nahm es rasch, es durchzusehn,
> Las es auch vor'm Schlafengehn,
> Doch mit tausend Schrecken.
> Büchlein, Büchlein, Büchlein keck
> Aus des Ladens Ecken.
>
> König sprach: ich unterdrück's
> Büchlein aus dem Laden,
> Büchlein lachte: o des Glück's!
> Dann liest man mich hinterrücks,
> Und das bringt nie Schaden.
> Büchlein, Büchlein, Büchlein keck,
> Büchlein aus dem Laden.
>
> Und der gute Fürst verbot
> 's Büchlein in dem Lande,
> Büchlein aber litt nicht Noth,
> Ging recht ab wie warmes Brod,
> Ging von Hand zu Hande.
> Büchlein, Büchlein, Büchlein keck,
> Büchlein bleibt im Lande.[37]

The early history of publication of the song gives a useful insight into the workings of censorship and the dangers facing publishers and book sellers who dealt with incendiary political material. The parodic verses were written

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36   Plachta B., *Zensur* (Stuttgart: 2006) 101 and 112.

37   Dreves L. (ed.), "Sah ein Fürst ein Büchlein stehn", in idem (ed.), *Lieder eines Hanseaten* (Wesel: 1843) 105.

in 1838 and appeared anonymously in Dreves's book *Lieder eines Hanseaten*
which was published in 1843 by August Prinz in Wesel. A Hamburg police file
from the same year confirms Dreves's authorship as well as the story of this
poetry volume's censorship: after its publication the said Prinz was banished
from Hamburg in March 1843 and all bookshops in the city threatened with
a fine of 25 *Taler* for selling the book. As well as that the printer Heinrich
Gottfried Voigt and the censor with responsibility for Altona, judicial officer
Brodersen, became the targets of a police investigation which was dropped,
however, on 12 May 1843 due to insufficient evidence.[38]

It was by no means merely in the educated middle class milieu (i.e. the stu-
dent fraternity members and literary public referred to above) where songs
had a socially galvanizing function. "Das Blutgericht" ("The Blood Court")
was written at the time of Silesian weavers' revolt in June 1844. It was a per-
sonal attack on the factory owners in Langenbielau and Peterswaldau who on
account of international competition in the weaving industry had reduced
wages to the point where the workers could no longer feed themselves. In the
song the weavers' circumstances are compared to torture:

> Hier im Ort ist ein Gericht,
> Viel schlimmer als die Vehme ["kangaroo court"],
> Wo man nicht erst ein Urtheil spricht,
> Das Leben schnell zu nehmen.
>
> Hier wird der Mensch langsam gequält,
> Hier ist die Folterkammer,
> Hier werden Seufzer viel gezählt
> als Zeuge von dem Jammer.
>
> [...][39]

38   Rosenbacher M.G., "Die Untersuchung wegen der 'Lieder eines Hanseaten' (1843)",
      Mitteilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte 38 (1918) 171–176. See Robb D. –
      John E. (eds.), "Sah ein Fürst ein Büchlein stehn", commentary and critical editions, http://
      www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/sah_ein_fuerst_ein_buechlein_stehn (uploaded 2010).

39   "Das Blutgericht", anonymous handwritten source in a police file of 18 June 1844. This
      source contains a personal comment at the bottom of the page, testifying to the authen-
      ticity of the desperate conditions portrayed in the song. This and the following ref-
      erences can be found in the first of four volumes of secret files called 'Unterdrückung
      des Weberaufstandes in Schlesien im Jahre 1844', Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preußischer
      Kulturbesitz, Berlin Dahlem. GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern, Tit. 507 Nr. 6,
      Bd. 1, Bl. 104–105. Source orginally quoted by Steinitz, *Deutsche Volkslieder* vol. I, 232.

The factory owners, 'die Zwanziger' are cursed as hangmen and thugs. The writer hopes that they will be called to account in the next life, though he adds bitterly that such cynical people have neither religion nor beliefs: 'Doch ha, sie glauben an keinen Gott, / Noch weder an Hölle, Himmel, / Religion ist ihr Spott, / Hält sich an's Weltgetümmel.' The poem shows the recognition that profit is gained at the cost of the workers ('Wenn euch, wie für ein Lumpengeld / Die Waare hingeschmissen, / Was euch dann zum Gewinne fehlt, / wird Armen abgerissen'). Lines like these impressed Karl Marx as showing an early proletarian class consciousness.[40]

Several police reports reveal how the song was sung by the weavers during the riots of June 1844. Two files contain handwritten versions of the song. One of them, dated Langenbielau, 9th June 1844, contains a comment that the 'defamatory poem' was found attached to a tree in Peterswaldau. The song sheet itself contains additional words at the bottom urging its finder to spread the song further afield.[41] The other source, dated Breslau, 18th July 1844, comments on how a crowd of people passed the buildings of the Zwanziger merchants creating a disturbance and singing "Das Blutgericht", resulting in arrests being made and a copy of the song being confiscated.[42] Much of the police investigation centered around the unsuccessful attempt to establish the identity of the author.

As with the above songs "Das Blutgericht" was sung to an already well known melody, in this case "Das Schloß in Östterreich" ("The Castle in Austria").[43] During the 1848 Revolution itself the use of such well known melodies as a vehicle for political messages was widespread. At times the music becomes an intertextual devise whereby the thematic associations of melodies in relation to their original texts can have either an affirmative or a satirical function. Significantly the seventeenth century ballad "Das Schloß in Österreich" is

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40   Karl Marx wrote of how the song expressed '[das] Bewußtsein über das Wesen des Proletariats', "Kritische Randglossen zu dem Artikel 'Der König von Preußen und die Sozialreform'", *Vorwärts* 7 August 1844. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: *Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*) *Erste Abteilung, Werke, Artikel, Entwürfe* (Berlin: 1975) 459.

41   'Der Finder dieses wird ersucht, es anderen mitzuteilen', anonymous handwritten source, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 77, Tit. 507 Nr. 6, Bd. 1, Bl. 75–76. Quoted by Steinitz, *Deutsche Volkslieder* vol. I, 233.

42   'Generalbericht betreffend die Unruhen der Kattunweber in den Kreisen Reichenbach, Schweidnitz und Waldenberg'. In report 'Betreffend den Weberaufruhr', GstA PK, I. HA Rep. 77, Tit. 507 Nr. 6, Bd. 2, Bl. 87–89. Quoted by Steinitz, *Deutsche Volkslieder* vol. I, 233.

43   'Melodie: Es liegt ein Schloß in Österreich', handwritten source, GstA PK, I. HA Rep. 77, Tit. 507 Nr. 6, Bd. 1, Bl. 104–105. Quoted by Steinitz, *Deutsche Volkslieder* vol. I, 243.

about the unjust imprisonment of a young lad in a castle dungeon at the hands of despotic nobles who account to nobody for their actions.[44]

We also see this use of musical contrefacture with the cult of songs dedicated respectively to the 1848 revolutionary icons Friedrich Hecker and Robert Blum. A lawyer by profession, Hecker was a controversial politician and acclaimed public speaker, firstly in the Second Baden Chamber from 1842 onwards and secondly, in the wake of the March revolution of 1848, in the radical wing of the Frankfurt Pre-Parliament. The radicals' republican agenda and their attempts to secure the gains of the revolution were knocked back by the conservative forces in the government, causing Hecker and colleagues, including Gustav Struwe, to proclaim the first German republic in Konstanz on April 13 and to initiate an armed rebellion with a group of volunteer fighters. The campaign was a disaster from start to finish, ending with a humiliating defeat near Kandar in the Black Forest on 20 April 1848 at the hands of government troops from Baden and Hessen. Hecker firstly fled to Switzerland and later that year to America.

The song "Seht, da steht der große Hecker" was written by the Heidelberg lawyer Karl Christian Gottfried Nadler in response to Hecker's failure. Unlike the many songs written in celebration of the rebel leader (for example "Hecker hoch, dein Name schalle", the singing of which was prohibited in public as memoires reveal),[45] this one was intended as a satire of Hecker. Written in the style of a sensational minstrel ballad ('Bänkellied'), it was distributed as an illustrated broadsheet with the title "Das Guckkastenlied vom großen Hecker"[46] featuring the well known picture of the charismatic bearded leader with the feather in his hat [Fig. 9.3]. Parallel to this, the song appeared in Mannheim as a flier with the title "Ein neues Lied vom Hecker". It was printed by C. Schmelzer, who significantly was also publisher of the conservative *Mannheimer Morgenblatt*. Unlike the anonymous illustrated broadsheet, the song in the flier was attributed to the author 'Johann Schmitt', a pseudonym of Nadler. This publication enjoyed several editions with additional verses added.[47] On the one hand the song's popularity illustrates how Hecker was not an unanimously acclaimed figure at the time. However, in the context of the Hecker cult that arose above all in south Germany in the decades after

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44   Erk L. (ed.), "Das Schloß in Österreich", *Deutscher Liederhort* (Berlin: 1856) 12–15.

45   Bender A., *Gesammelte Werke* (Buchen – Walldürn: 1996) 325–326.

46   See Robb D. – John E. (eds.), "Seht, da steht der große Hecker", commentary and critical editions, http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/seht_da_steht_der_grosse_hecker (uploaded 2011).

47   Robb – John, "Seht, da steht" editorial annotations to Edition B.

FIGURE 9.3 *Karl Christian Gottfried Nadler, "Das Guckkasten-Lied vom großen Hecker".*
Illustrated broadsheet (1848/49). Revolution der deutschen Demokraten in Baden.
Freiburg, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Graphik-Abteilung, Sammlung Nötzoldt
(*missing*). *Taken from the catalogue* 1848/49—Revolution der deutschen
Demokraten in Baden. (Landesausstellung im Karlsruher Schloß vom
28.02.1998–02.08.1998) (*Karlsruhe: 1998*) 365 (*kat. 511*), *written by Harald*
Siebenborgen and edited by the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe.
IMAGE © DEUTSCHES VOLKSLIEDARCHIV FREIBURG.

the revolution, the satirical song underwent a change of function whereby it gradually became part of the glorification cult associated with Hecker. An advert for this song which appeared in the *Oberrheinische Zeitung* on 11 August 1848 already indicates the growing cult in its offering of Hecker accessories for sale.[48]

As the author Nadler indicated, the song was to be sung 'nach bekannter Melodie'. It is not possible to verify exactly which melody is meant because the earliest known musical accompaniment dates from 1926. There are strong indications, however, that the intended melody was that of "Oh du Deutschland, ich muss marschieren" ("Oh Germany I Have to March")—the tune which asserted itself in the Hecker song's later tradition.[49] Firstly this tune was a very well known melody in 1848. Secondly it would have supported Nadler's satirical intention because the song's text—"O du Deutschland, ich muß marschieren, o du Deutschland, ich muß fort! / Eine zeitlang muß ich scheiden, eine zeitlang muß ich meiden / mein geliebtes Vaterland"[50]—would have evoked association with Hecker, who had immediately fled into exile after his defeat. The use of this melody therefore underlines the sarcastic, derisive intention of the author and doing so becomes a medium of intertextuality. This technique is particularly apparent in two verses that Nadler added later in 1848 which play ironically with quotations from the famous song glorifying Hecker, "Hecker Hoch, dein Name schalle!"[51]

Another hero of the 1848 Revolution about whom numerous songs were written was Robert Blum. In October 1848 Blum had travelled to Vienna with a delegation of democratic members of the Frankfurt National Assembly in order to bring a message of support to the insurgents there. The Vienna October uprising was the last revolt of the Austrian revolution of 1848. Impressed by the revolutionary spirit of the Viennese, Blum participated actively in the military defence of the city that was besieged by the Kaiser's troops. After the storming of Vienna by the counter-revolutionary troops Blum was arrested on the 4 November and—despite his immunity as a member of parliament—was executed five days later in Brigittenau near Vienna. The shooting of Robert Blum unleashed a wave of outrage nationally and many remembrance services

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48   Newspaper advert: "Das Guckkastenlied vom grossen Hecker": http://www.liederlexikon
      .de/lieder/seht_da_steht_der_grosse_hecker/abbildung2.

49   Robb – John, "Seht, da steht" Edition D.

50   Erk L. – Böhme F.M. (ed.), *Deutscher Liederhort. Auswahl der vorzüglicheren Deutschen
      Volkslieder nach Wort und Weise aus der Vorzeit und Gegenwart gesammelt und erläutert*,
      3 vols. (Leipzig: 1893–1894) no. 1375.

51   Robb – John, "Seht, da steht der große Hecker" Edition B, vv. 8 and 20.

were held throughout the country. For the service in Bremen on 19 November 1848 the Oldenburger author Adolf Stahr (1804–1876) wrote the text "Was zieht dort zur Brigittenau" ("What's That Going Out to Brigittenau"). Stahr, a literary historian from Prenzlau who had been deputy principle of a Gymnasium in Oldenburg since 1836, was active in the literary and political life of the period. His Brigittenau song was first published in the *Bremer Zeitung* on Saturday 18 November 1848, the day before Blum's remembrance service at Domshof. Stahr also had his song printed as a leaflet. As confirmed by a letter which he wrote to the radical democratic politician Johann Jacoby, the proceeds from this were to support the nationwide donations for Blum's family.[52] The song text is a balladesque account of how Blum was taken to his place of execution in Brigittenau and shot by Croatian troops under the command of the Austrian general Windisch-Grätz. The last two verses effectively declare how Blum has become a martyr of the freedom movement; his memory serving as a challenge to continue the political struggle for a free Germany:

> Es krachen die Gewehre
> Im Blute liegt der Held
> Es haben die Büchsen der Jäger
> Der Freiheit Fahnenträger
> Den Robert Blum gefällt.
>
> Der Fähnrich ist erschlagen,
> Es fiel der Robert Blum.
> Auf Brüder, die Fahne zu retten
> Der Freiheit aus Banden und Ketten
> Zu Deutschlands Eigentum![53]

As with "Der große Hecker", the melody used for "Was zieht dort zur Brigittenau" was that of a popular tune with similar thematic associations. This was the immensely popular "Schier dreißig Jahre bin ich alt" ("I'm Almost

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52 'Teuerster Freund! [. . .] Ich lege das Lied bei, das erste solcher Art—das ich auf den Märtyrer von der Brigittenau gemacht, es wird zum Besten seiner Familie bei seiner Totenfeier in Bremen verkauft [. . .].' Jacoby, Johann, *Briefwechsel 1816–1849*, ed. E. Silberner (Hannover: 1974) 538; the latter is dated 'Oldenburg, 25. November 1848'. See Robb D. – John E. (eds.), "Was zieht dort zur Brigittenau", commentary and critical editions, http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/was_zieht_dort_zur_brigittenau (uploaded 2011).

53 "Was zieht dort zur Brigittenau?" in flier "Das Lied vom Robert Blum" (Bremen: 1848). See Robb – John, "Was zieht dort zur Brigittenau" Edition A.

Thirty Years Old") from Karl von Holtei's Singspiel *Leonore* (1827–1828). This had originally been the melody of the traditional ballad "Es waren einmal drei Reiter gefangen" ("Once They Caught Three Riders") which is significant because captivity and imminent death are prominent themes of this song too.[54] Whether intended by Stahr or not, this double association—with the popular contemporary Singspiel song and the original traditional ballad with a similar theme—most probably played a role in the song's reception.

This use of a melody of a popular song with similar thematic association is apparent with another song dedicated to Robert Blum, "O du verrat'nes Deutschland" ("Oh You Betrayed Germany"), otherwise known as "Das Lied vom treuen Robert" ("Song of the Faithful Robert").[55] This was written in late 1848 by Carl Friedrich Biedermann (1812–1901). The broadsheet where it was first published in Leipzig indicates that the text is to be sung to the melody of the popular song "Zu Mantua in Banden" ("At Mantua in Shackles"), written by Julius Mosen in 1831.[56] This song deals with the shooting in 1810 of Andreas Hofer, leader of the popular uprising in Tirol against Napoleonic rule, and in this respect was a thematic point of reference for Biedermann: both texts refer to a betrayed Germany as well as a drummer playing a drum role. In both texts a hero bids farewell to his beloved homeland: 'Ade mein Land Tirol!' in "Zu Mantua in Banden" becomes in the Blum song 'Ade, du deutsches Land!'

In terms of the milieu in which Biedermann was active, we know he was a professor at the University of Leipzig and a publicist. He was also a liberal politician in the Frankfurt *Vorparlament* and later in the National Assembly of 1848. His views were known to the authorities as he had already been charged with 'insulting royalty' in 1847. On the original broadsheet the author is simply called 'Carl Friedrich' presumably to conceal his identity from the censorship authorities. The publishing house C.W.B. Naumburg was also significant in that it had printed the oppositional *Gebet- und Gesangbuch für deutsch-katholische Christen* (*Prayer and Songbook for German Catholic Christians*), compiled by Robert Blum, in 1845 as well as Hermann Rollet's *Republikanische Liederbuch* (*Republican Songbook*) (2nd edition 1848).

The history of the song's reception reveals an incident in the period 1848–1849 in Chemnitz where teachers were interrogated on suspicion of having taught school pupils this song or allowing them to sing it ('[sie hätten] die

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54   Erk – Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort* no. 65d.

55   See Robb D. – John E. (eds.), "O du verrat'nes Deutschland (Das Lied vom treuen Robert)", commentary and critical editions, http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/o_du_verratnes_deutschland (uploaded 2012).

56   [Biedermann C.F.], "Das Lied vom treuen Robert" (Leipzig: 1848).

Kinder in der Schule Freiheitslieder, namentlich das Lied vom treuen Robert gelehrt oder auswendig singen lassen').[57] It was revealed, however, in the course of the interrogation that the children had learned the song outside of school, an indication of its popular circulation.[58] Further evidence of this is a report of a burial service for Adolph von Trützschler in 1849 in Chemnitz organized by the democratic *Leseverein* at which "O du verrat'nes Deutschland" was sung.[59] Trützschler (1818–1849) was a lawyer and member of the student fraternities and had been elected as a member of the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848. On account of his participation in the Baden revolutionary government in May 1849 he had been sentenced to death and shot on 14 August in Mannheim.

The remembrance services mentioned above were features of a political events culture which emerged during the revolution of 1848. Newspaper reports of a performance of the song "Reveille" ("Wake Up") by Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810–1876) at an outdoor event reveal significant information about the public oppositional culture of the Rhineland at the time. "Reveille" was an adaptation of the "Marseillaise", perhaps the most notable of political songs of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Written in 1792 by Claude Joseph Rouget, the "Marseillaise" was particularly well known in the Rhineland in this period partly as a result of the French occupation of this territory in Napoleonic times. In the following decades, such songs 'formed another cultural arena that highlighted political difference'.[60] There were several translations of the "Marseillaise" into German from the 1790s onwards.[61] Freiligrath wrote his adaptation in March 1849, to commemorate the first anniversary of the 1848 revolution. As the first verse and chorus of the text reflect, it is very much written in the style of the "Marseillaise" as a *Kampflied* to rouse the passions of a crowd or audience:

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57   Willert P., "Ein Disziplinverfahren um das 'Freiheitslied vom treuen Robert Blum'", *Volkskunst. Monatsschrift für das künstlerische Volksschaffen* 9 (1960) no. 7, 27–29; esp. 27.

58   Arbeiterliedarchiv, Berlin: 'Acten, das gegen Herrn Diacon Zimmermann und Genossen allhier angeordnete Disziplinar-Verfahren betr. Kirchen-Inspection zu Chemnitz 1849'. See Steinitz, *Deutsche Volkslieder* 202–203.

59   Strauss R., *Die Lage und die Bewegung der Chemnitzer Arbeiter in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: 1960) 327. (Report on 'Trützschlers Todtenfeier' in *Chemnitzer Bote* 1849, 1275.)

60   Brophy, *Popular Culture* 60.

61   Engels H.-W. (ed.), "Die Marseillaise in Deutschland" (chapter VI), in idem (ed.), *Gedichte und Lieder deutscher Jakobiner* (Stuttgart: 1971) 74–83 and 200–205.

Frisch auf zur Weise von Marseille,
frisch auf ein Lied mit hellem Ton!
Singt es hinaus als die
der neuen Revolution!
Der neuen Revolution!
Der neuen, die mit Schwert und Lanze
die letzte Fessel bald zerbricht—
Der alten, halben singt es nicht!
Uns gilt die neue nur, die ganze!

Refrain: Die neue Rebellion!
Die ganze Rebellion!
Marsch, Marsch!
Marsch, Marsch!
Marsch—wär's zum Tod!
Und unsre Fahn ist rot!

The poem "Reveille" was first published on 21 March 1849 in the *Wächter am Rhein* as well as in Karl Marx's *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in which Freiligrath worked on the editorial committee. One day later it appeared in the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*. All of these papers contained reports about the song being sung at a banquet held on 19 March 1849 in the Gürzenich area of Cologne to commemorate the Berlin barricade battles of March 1848. An advertisement in the *Wächter am Rhein* on Sunday 18 March announced the event as a 'Großes Demokratisches Banket: zur Erinnerung an die vorigjährige siegreiche Erhebung des Berliner Volkes'. It was organized by the Festcomité des Kölner Demokratischen und Arbeiter-Vereins and would provide entertainment in the form of a music group and a free glass of beer with free entrance for women.[62] On Wednesday 21 March a report appeared in the same paper relating the success of the event with thousands having to be turned away. It mentioned speeches calling for a second popular uprising as well as the performance of Freiligrath's new song which was well received.[63] According to Sperber, Freiligrath's "Marseillaise" as well as the Phrygian caps which the hall attendants wore and the huge red flag on the stage (similarly decked with Phrygian caps) were all a conscious application of the symbolism of the French Revolution in an area of the Rhineland that had belonged to France for two

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62   *Wächter am Rhein*, no. 31, 18 March 1849.
63   *Wächter am Rhein*, no. 32, 21 March 1849.

decades.[64] Research reveals that Freiligrath already had a personal relationship to the "Marseilleise": the poet had been taken to court the previous autumn for his poem "Die Todten an die Lebenden" ("The Dead to the Living"), accused of inciting citizens to take up arms against the sovereign powers.[65] After he had been acquitted on 3 October 1848 by the Düsseldorf District Court, according to the report of the police inspector Huthsteiner, there was a torchlight parade in the evening where the 12.000–15.000 participants had sung the "Marseillaise" while a drunken Freiligrath had given a speech in which he had talked about 'unserer Sache, der Demokratie, der Republik, der roten Republik'.[66]

These events clearly demonstrate the public platform which existed for radical politics in the years of the revolution. There are elements in the Freiligrath text that show the influence of Karl Marx, with whom the poet had been working at the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne since June 1848. Already in his poem "Die Todten an die Lebenden" from summer 1848 Freiligrath had spoken about the dead revolutionary of the 18th March who would awaken in the spirit of the survivors to complete the half finished revolution ('Die halbe Revolution zur ganzen wird er machen!'). This has distinct echoes of a major theme of Karl Marx's essay "Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Napoleon" (1852) in which he wrote: 'Die Tradition aller toten Geschlechter lastet wie ein Alp auf dem Gehirn der Lebenden.'[67] According to Marx the legacy of the dead revolutionaries would result in the proletarian revolutions being carried through more completely than the old bourgeois revolutions that were characterized by 'Halbheiten'. Thus, when Freiligrath pleads in "Reveille" for 'Die neue Rebellion! / Die ganze Rebellion' as opposed to '[d]er alten, halben', this appears to confirm a common theme which was preoccupying these two colleagues during the 1848–1849 revolution.

The most significant song of the last days of the revolution of 1848–1849 is undoubtedly "Badisches Wiegenlied" ("Baden Lullaby") written by the Stuttgart author Ludwig Pfau (1821–1894). It was written in the wake of the suppression of the Baden uprising in July 1849 by Prussian troops after a three week long siege of the fortress at Rastatt. Due to his participation in the uprising Pfau fled

64   Sperber J., "Germania mit Phrygiermütze. Zur politischen Symbolik der Revolution von 1848/49 in den Rheinlanden", in Götz von Olenhausen I. (ed.), *1848/49 und der Mythos der Französischen Revolution* (Göttingen: 1998) 72–73. His source: *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*, 22 March 1849.

65   Boberach H. (ed.), *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung*, vol. II (Cologne – Bonn: 1976) no. 276, 461.

66   Boberach, *Rheinische Briefe* 461.

67   Marx K., *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* (Berlin: 1974) 15.

to Switzerland on 11–12 July 1849. The poem was first published in *Eulenspiegel* in Stuttgart, a magazine which he co-edited, in December of that year. The text achieves its effect by the stark contrast between the innocent form of the lullaby and the bitter political content. In every verse the mother pleads with her child to sleep softly because of the repression of the Prussian troops outside. However in the final verse the mother expresses the hope that one day the tide will turn and freedom will rise again. Her child will no longer sleep but will shout that revenge has been taken on the Prussians who killed his father:

> Schlaf', mein Kind, schlaf' leis,
> Dort draußen geht der Preuß'!
> Gott aber weiß, wie lang' er geht,
> Bis daß die Freiheit aufersteht,
> Und wo dein Vater liegt, mein Schatz,
> Da hat noch mancher Preuße Platz!
> Schrei, mein Kindlein, schrei's:
> Dort draußen *liegt* der Preuß'![68]

Other than the Stuttgart 1849 publication not much was known about the reception of this text until Barbara James (now Boock) came across a publication with a musical notation from the period 1849–1850 in Strasbourg. The style of the anonymous melody and piano arrangement is more that of a *Kunst-Lied* than a popular folk song. The cover contained a dedication to the German political refugees ('Zum Besten deutscher politischer Flüchtlinge')[69] indicating that the song was being disseminated in refugee circles abroad, a fact confirmed by the discovery of a further publication in London from 1853.[70] Despite the lack of publications in Germany—most probably due to censorship of this poignantly socially critical song—a comment on a Zurich print from 1857 confirmed that it was still undergoing a lively oral reception in Baden.[71]

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68   Pfau L., "Badisches Wiegenlied", *Eulenspiegel* (Stuttgart: 8 Dezember 1849) 200.

69   The information on the pamphlet reads as follows: 'Badisches Wiegenlied. Für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte. Gedruckt bei E. Lemaître, Spießgasse 22, Straßburg [1849]'. See John E. – Robb D. (eds.), "Schlaf mein Kind schlaf leis", commentary and critical editions (http://www.liederlexikon.de/lieder/schlaf_mein_kind_schlaf_leis) (uploaded 2009).

70   Nathan C. (ed.), *Deutscher Liederkranz. Eine Sammlung freier politischer Gesänge*, Part 1 (London: 1853) 6.

71   'Im badischen Ländchen ist jetzt noch folgendes Lied in des Volkes Munde, das zur Zeit der preußischen Occupation entstand und jüngst wieder auf's Neue aufgefrischt wurde.' *Zürcher Intelligenzblatt*, 19 April 1857.

This contribution has attempted to show how from the Hambach Festival of 1832 up until the defeat of the 1848–1849 Revolution in Rastatt a picture emerges—from original publications and reports of events surrounding the singing of oppositional songs—of how songs and singing culture were part of a public environment in which political identities were formed and expressed. As part of this process this contribution has also looked at how popular melodies were used as an intertextual device to underline and support themes, such as the use of the "Marseillaise" for Freiligrath's "Reveille", or to undermine the subject of the texts, such as the use of the royal anthem "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" to satirise royalty in "Fürsten zum Land hinaus", and as such contributed to the dissemination of these songs among their intended public.

While songs of the 1848–1849 Revolution endured harsh censorship in its immediate aftermath, they have been revived at various historical points since then, first of all during the German workers' movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries where the memory of the 1848 revolution was invoked in social democratic songbooks. A further reawakening of this tradition took place in folklore research (e.g. John Meier and Alfred Wirth) of the early decades of the twentieth century. After the break of the Third Reich, in which this song tradition was banned, both the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic claimed the 1848 democratic songs as cultural heritage. The research of folklorist Wolfgang Steinitz played a pivotal role, serving as a reference point for folk singers and groups of both German states from the 1960s onwards.[72]

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72　See the commentaries and critical editions of Robb D. – John E. (eds.), "Lieder der Revolution von 1848 und ihre Rezeptionsgeschichte in Deutschland", http://www.lieder lexikon.de/ueber_liederlexikon_de/projekte/ahrc-dfg_projekt.

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The Perils of Performance: From Political Songs to National Airs in Romantic-Era Wales (1790–1820)

Mary-Ann Constantine

This discussion of songs from late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Wales is situated within a movement of literary critical and historical writing known as 'Four Nations' or 'archipelagic' criticism, which seeks to give voices to the different cultures and languages within the British Isles.[1] Displaying a greater awareness of historical linguistic diversity (Welsh, Scots, Irish and Scots Gaelic), but also more alert to what it means to write from the peripheries (it is after all, as postcolonial criticism has shown us, entirely possible to write in standard English but with a radically peripheral mindset), this is an ongoing attempt to break down monolithic accounts of a national British history and literary history.[2] The notion has particular force for the Romantic period in the British Isles (1790s–1820s), as concepts of 'Britishness' were then much in play: the American and French Revolutions and the subsequent European wars were hugely significant factors in the construction of British identity (or, more accurately, identities) at this time.

Songs have a part to play in the construction of these identities. Like newspapers, sermons, poetry and pamphlets they are caught up in a general swirl of discourse; their fluid, contingent and highly adaptable nature makes them particularly interesting subjects of investigation. This paper will consider how,

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1 This work stems from a project funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council and supported by the University of Wales between 2009–2012: for more information see frenchrevolution.wales.ac.uk. To date, seven volumes have appeared, of which the most immediately relevant to song studies is that of Jones, F.M., *Welsh Ballads of the French Revolution 1793–1815* (Cardiff: 2012). Songs, however, have found their way into many of the other publications cited below, and I am extremely grateful to my colleagues for permission to draw on their work: Cathryn Charnell-White, Elizabeth Edwards, Ffion Jones, Dafydd Johnston, Marion Löffler and Heather Williams.

2 See, for example, Kerrigan J., *Archipelagic English. Literature, History and Politics 1603–1707* (Oxford: 2009); Kearney H., *The British Isles. A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge: 1989); Pittock M.G.H., *Inventing and Resisting Britain. Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685–1789* (New York: 1997); Schwyzer P. – Mealor S. (eds.), *Archipelagic Identities. Literature and Identity in the Early Modern Atlantic Archipelago* (Aldershot: 2004).

in Wales, printed ballads, songs performed in specific public contexts, songs preserved in manuscripts, songs as evidence in trials, scraps of songs—even the notional *idea* of particular songs—became part of this wider political conversation. Many are authored songs, created with political intent in the 1790s (I can find no examples of traditional, orally-transmitted folk-songs being used in the period for political purposes); I also look briefly at the notion of 'national song' as it comes into being in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Identity is expressed through relationships to different groups of people; it is contingent on context; it changes through time. It is easiest to conceptualize and construct (and discuss analytically) in the binary terms of 'self/other', but the fact is that most of us contain many such constructed identities, which come to the fore as occasion demands. In 1790s Wales or London one might be, in almost any combination: British (not French), but also Welsh (not English), loyal to the Crown (not a radical), and to the Anglican church (not a Dissenter or Nonconformist), but still opposed to the war (not pro-Government). Furthermore, a powerful investment in one particular identity might break down other 'lower' oppositions altogether: Anglican/Nonconformists unite in *not* being Catholic. British and French radicals, in the early stages of the Revolution at least, subsume their nationhood in universalist aspirations as 'citizens of the world'. Those positions might (or might not) alter as the speaker moves from one language to another, and from one space to another: privately (in a diary, in a room amongst friends) the speaker may feel loyalties that he or she cannot admit to in public. Above all, the rapidly-shifting parameters of the Revolution itself caused profoundly-lived identities to buckle and break: many pro-French, optimistic radicals of 1789–1791 ended the century disillusioned, fearful, and conservative. Mark Philp has eloquently evoked the contingent nature of radical political identity in the decade; as Kenneth Johnston has recently argued, many were silenced, ceasing to express themselves altogether.[3]

Capturing this complexity through the prism of something in itself as mobile and fluid as song culture might seem impossible, but songs are often wonderful points of focus for such issues. As Laura Mason has shown in *Singing the French Revolution*, song-texts can be discussed both as the expression of ideology and as objects of critical scrutiny in their own right: they are 'a lens through which to consider the cultural activity of the Revolution, and as a

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3 Philp M., "The Fragmentary Ideology of Reform" in idem (ed.), *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge: 1991) 50–77; Johnston K.R., "Whose History? My Place or Yours? Republican Assumptions and Romantic Traditions", in Davies D.W. (ed.), *Romanticism, History, Historicism. Essays on an Orthodoxy* (London – New York: 2009) 79–102.

form of popular culture that was dramatically changed by the Revolution'.[4] An exploration of even a handful of examples from 1790s Wales reveals both predictable tensions and surprising cohesions in most of the 'identity-positions' outlined above.

Loyal Britons? Hidden Tensions in Welsh Printed Ballads

There are relatively few surviving traditional, orally-transmitted Welsh-language folk songs from this period, and hardly any with significant narrative content; this may be a combination of historical cultural tendencies (surviving early medieval poetry is decidedly non-narrative) and a result of the powerful hold of Calvinistic Methodism from the mid-C18th, which encouraged the active rejection of traditional culture (folk tunes could be turned into hymns, but most folk lyrics were beyond redemption). There is however an extremely rich printed ballad tradition from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which has gradually been attracting increased critical attention. These songs usually have named authors, and often respond to contemporary events; they are generally characterized by a conservative attitude, and, compared to their counterparts in English, draw heavily on the Bible. They are not, it should be stressed, 'top-down' productions aiming to educate the lower classes, like the propaganda ballads written by Hannah More at this period, but products of the society to which they speak.[5] They were sung and sold at fairs and markets, and operate at the interface between a print and an oral culture.

Of the 1790s ballads, the most interesting for mapping the interplay of identities are a handful of songs responding to the Fishguard 'Invasion' of 1797, when a small convoy of French soldiers landed on the south-western coast of Pembrokeshire, in south Wales, triggering widespread panic [Fig. 10.1]. They were swiftly repelled by local inhabitants, the militia and volunteers, and the attempt came to nothing. I have looked at these songs in more detail elsewhere; all are now available in translation, and have been further explored

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4   Mason L., *Singing the French Revolution. Popular Culture and Politics 1787–1799* (Ithaca: 1996) 4; Davis M.T., "'An Evening of Pleasure Rather than Business'. Songs, Subversion and Radical Sub-Culture in the 1790s", *Journal for the Study of British Cultures* 12, 2 (2005) 115–126.

5   For an introduction to the genre see Jones T., "Welsh Ballads", in Jones P.H. – Rees E. (eds.), *A Nation and its Books. A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: 1998) 245–251. For typical ballads by Hannah More see *Tales for the Common People and other Cheap Repository Tracts*, selected with an introduction and notes by C. MacDonald Shaw (Nottingham: 2002).

FIGURE 10.1   *'A Plan of Fishguard Bay' by Thomas Propert (1798). Detail. Aberystwyth,
National Library of Wales, MAP 10823.*
IMAGE © NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES.

in Ffion Jones's *Welsh Ballads of the French Revolution.*[6] The Fishguard land-
ings were widely interpreted at the time as a moment when the loyal Welsh
of Pembrokeshire rallied to British cause; the participation of the local peas-
antry in defeating the French soldiers received much praise in the national
press. 'British versus French' identity is thus not hard to spot: the French are
as 'other' as it is possible to be, in attention-grabbing ballad-titles such as the
anonymously-authored: "Praise to the Welsh, the men of Pembrokeshire, for
seizing the voracious, fiendish enemies, savage plunderers, namely the French,
when they landed in Fishguard".[7] Elsewhere they are 'Ffrancod didrugaredd'
('merciless French') and 'Ffrancod gwaedlyd' ('bloody French'). The balladeers
have a long tradition of anti-French rhetoric to draw upon, of course, since

6   Constantine M.-A., " 'The French are on the Sea!'. Welsh and Irish songs of French Invasion
     in the 1790s" [Papers from the International Ballad Conference held at Terschelling, 2010;
     forthcoming]. Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, 158–246.
7   Jones, *Welsh Ballads* 179: 'Clod i'r Cymry, gwŷr sir Benfro, am gymeryd y rheibus elynion cyth-
     reulig, ysglyfyddwyr mileinig, sef Ffrancod, pan diriasant yn Abergwaun'.

France was frequently an enemy of Britain in the preceding centuries: ideas, phrases, whole stanzas can be recycled from earlier conflicts. Closer up, however, it is possible to discern more subtle and more local expressions of patriotism and allegiance. The role of the military in defeating the French varies considerably from ballad to ballad, and is in some cases minimized completely ('a few soldiers'), handing the victory almost entirely to the efforts of the locals:

> The Welsh formed an army
> To fight for their country
> Everyone plainly, and a few soldiers,
> Like brothers to put paid to them.
> They gathered scythes and sickles,
> Pitchforks did the men carry
> Shouting suddenly, 'God save the king!'
> Like a true army.[8]

Note, however, that the battle-cry of this homegrown army with its agricultural weapons (the pleasing irony of 'ploughshares into swords' would not be lost on such a religiously-educated population) is, nonetheless: 'God save the king!' [Fig. 10.2].

Another powerful form of self-identification is religious allegiance, and a particularly interesting perspective is offered by Nathaniel Jenkin in "An address to the Welsh, to urge them to repent of their sins and return to God, and to praise Him for delivering us from the claws of the merciless French".[9] In this ballad Jenkin is firmly convinced that the French are an instrument of God's own devising, sent as a threat—not to the British people as a whole, but specifically to the Welsh. It is instructive to contrast this vivid sense of punishment coming from over the sea (a traditional Welsh literary theme) with a group of Irish songs about the French incursions on the west coast of 1796 and 1798 which express the precise opposite, working as they do in a political climate of potential rebellion and a literary tradition of *déliverance* from overseas.[10]

Other printed ballads of the 1790s and the Napoleonic wars praise British national heroes such as Horatio Nelson and the Duke of York, giving detailed

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8   Jones, *Welsh Ballads* 180–181: 'Y Cymry a gode'n gad / I ymladd am eu gwlad; / Pawb yn eglur, a 'chydig filwyr, / [F]el brodyr i wneud eu brad. / Hel pladurie a chrymane, / Picwarche a garie'r gwŷr, / Gan floeddio'n sydyn, "Duw gadwo'r brenin!" / Megis byddin bur.'

9   Jones, *Welsh Ballads* 196–197: 'Annerch i'r Cymry, i'w hannog i edifarhau am eu pechodau a dychwelyd at Dduw, ac i'w glodfori am ein gwared o grafangau'r Ffrancod didrugaredd.'

10   The point is further developed in Constantine, "The French are on the Sea!".

FIGURE 10.2   'A Fishguard Fencible 1797'. Coloured print. Artist unknown. Personal collection.
IMAGE © TOM LLOYD.

accounts of their battles on land and sea. There are also many songs to local militia and volunteer groups, interesting because their strongly local patriotism is located within a wider support for the British war effort as a whole, and there are occasional moments of tension. Depictions of the French as a people are uniformly negative, though there is some sympathy for Louis, and more for Marie-Antoinette. A 1793 ballad by Richard Roberts is typical of attitudes to the 'mob'—and also displays the fluidity of the term 'Ancient Britons' at this time (both generally British and specifically Welsh):

> A little of the history of the insurrection which took place between the king of France and his own kingdom; and that they cut off his head; and how they are now thirsting for the blood of the ancient Britons; but let us hope that they will die of thirst first, and that they will not see their will fulfilled upon us. May God stand with King George III and the Church of England.[11]

The ballad offers a detailed description of the execution of Louis, and the subsequent treatment of his corpse, making clear the author's relief that the 'King of England' (sic) is still alive and in control: it too is sung, very pointedly, to the tune of "God Save the King".

Jones's anthology also contains two ballads written specifically by Welsh Dissenters—that is, by nonconformists, who were still, in Britain as a whole, excluded from full participation in civic life. Many were committed to a longer-term liberal reform agenda, and opposed to what they viewed as a culture of corruption in Church and State. The context for the ballads is the climate of anxiety of 1792–1793 when many Dissenters who had welcomed the French Revolution in its opening stages found themselves under attack as events in France turned bloody. Both ballads strenuously declare their loyalty to the Crown, though, as Jones remarks, their tone is markedly different: 'the first apparently conciliatory and deferential to the status quo, while the second is outraged and pugnaciously defensive'.[12] Jones neatly evokes the conflicting identity-positions of the Dissenting dilemma in her analysis of the first ballad,

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11   Jones, *Welsh Ballads* 100–101: 'Ychydig o hanes y g[wrthr]yfel a [fu] rhwng brenin Ff[rainc] [a'i deyrnas ei hun, ac] y to[rasant ei] be[n ef;] ac fel y maent yn a[wr] yn sychedu am waed yr hen Fryt[a]niaid; ond gobeithio y tagant o [s]yched yn gyntaf, ac na chânt mo'u hewyllys arn[om] ni. Duw a safo gy[d]a Brenin George III [a]c Eglwys [L]oegr.'

12   Jones, *Welsh Ballads* 10.

which was written (possibly by several authors) as a result of a public meeting of Dissenters in Newcastle Emlyn in 1793:

> Its ostensible purpose is to ward off any suggestion that Dissenters harbour sympathy with the violent aims and ways of the Revolution in France [...]. An outright dismissal of the French model [...] is coupled with the use of the image of a Deluge sweeping away the supporters of French-style 'equality' as if they were the dregs of the earth punished by God for their sins (but leaving the godly—the Welsh or the British—safe in their ark-like island). The author or collective authors clearly wanted to show that the ideals represented by the Revolution were rejected by the Dissenting community.[13]

The following stanzas (which, with a reference to the Dutch Patriots, show that some Welsh communities were aware of other models of political change than those advocated by the 'bloody French') display that rejection categorically:

> Without illusion, Britons would wish
> That none of their sons
> Should ever more on this side of the sea
> Witness a second age of Revolution.
>
> While there is a gracious king
> And a true, righteous government,
> It is quite certain that no Englishman
> Will raise his voice for a Revolution.
>
> Let Dutchmen do as they please,
> Without distinction between head and tail;
> Our common people and our nobles will ever go
> Under one great monarch.[14]

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13   Jones, *Welsh Ballads* 10.

14   Jones, *Welsh Ballads* 86–87: 'Heb rith, dymunai Brython / Na welo neb o'u meibion / Mwyach fyth tu yma i fôr / Ail oes o Refoliwsion. // Tra fyddo brenin tirion / A iawn lywodraeth union, / Mae'n ddigon siŵr na bydd un Sais / Â'i lais am Refoliwsion. // Aed Ellmyn fel y mynnon, / Heb wân rhwng pen a chynffon; / Byth dan un monarch mawr yr a' / Ein gwerin a'n goreuon' (vs. 45–56).

Nonetheless the ballad does, in a rather subtle way, quietly suggest that adherence to the aims and beliefs of Dissent will in fact bring about a 'Refolisiwn' in general attitudes and morality. It speaks not only to the wider public but 'to Dissenting congregations themselves, seeking to provide them with guidance on how to negotiate the difficulties of their current situation'.[15]

Radical Bardism: From the 'Rights of Man' to the 'Marseillaise'

Contrasting with the widespread sentiments of loyalism expressed in the printed ballads are deliberately radical manipulations of song by a small number of Welsh writers. The best-known of these is Edward Williams (also known by his bardic title as 'Iolo Morganwg', 1747–1826) a stonemason from Glamorgan, south Wales, who by 1790 had cast himself as a writer of lyric pastoral verse and an 'Ancient Welsh Bard', the virtual sole inheritor of a native poetic tradition dating back, so he claimed, to the time of the druids [Fig. 10.3]. His forgeries, rewritings and subtle manipulations of medieval texts make him one of the most successful reinventors of tradition in the Romantic period.[16] His Carmarthenshire compatriot, Thomas Evans ('Tomos Glyn Cothi'), was a weaver, a prominent Unitarian, and the editor of a radical Welsh-language journal advocating the rights of man.[17]

Versions of "God Save the King" were not just the preserve of those loyal to the Crown, but figured prominently in oppositional circles: the song and its tune offered ample scope for ironic contrafacture.[18] In 1798 Edward Williams

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15   Jones, *Welsh Ballads* 11.

16   See Constantine M.-A., *The Truth Against the World. Iolo Morganwg and Romantic Forgery* (Cardiff: 2007); Jenkins G.H., *Bard of Liberty. The Political Radicalism of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff: 2012).

17   For Evans and his radical Welsh-language periodical, *The Miscellaneous Repository, neu y Drysorfa Gymmysgedig* (1795) see Löffler M., *Welsh Responses to the French Revolution. Press & Public Discourse 1789–1802* (Cardiff: 2012) 29–30 and 225–245.

18   For an extended discussion of this song see Constantine M.-A. – Edwards E., "'Bard of Liberty': Iolo Morganwg, Wales and Radical Song", in Kirk J. – Noble A. – Brown M. (eds.), *United Islands? Multi-Lingual Radical Poetry and Song in Britain and Ireland, 1770–1820. Volume 1: The Languages of Resistance* (London: 2012) 63–76. The piece is reproduced with a translation and further discussion in Charnell-White C., *Welsh Poetry of the French Revolution 1789–1805* (Cardiff: 2012) 13–15 and 154–161. For competing versions of "God Save the King" see Davis, "An Evening of Pleasure"; Morgan A.J., '"God Save Our Queen!'. Percy Bysshe Shelley and Radical Appropriations of the British National Anthem" [forthcoming].

FIGURE 10.3   *Edward Williams ('Iolo Morganwg', 1757–1826). Watercolour by*
                 William Owen Pughe. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales,
                 W6 DV 57.
                 IMAGE © NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES.

produced a lengthy Welsh version, "Breiniau Dyn" ("Rights of Man"), which he
appears to have sung or possibly recited at a 'Gorsedd' (a meeting of Welsh
bards, an institution revived/invented by Williams himself in 1792) in south
Wales. The song circulated in manuscript amongst a group of like-minded
friends, and was much praised. It is a passionate, and in places potentially dan-
gerous, attack on privilege:

Liberty is here now
Like a huge roaring lion
For every land to hear
And the truth is on the move
Across the whole world
Proclaiming its pure tongue
To all mankind.

Hear, O proud and graceless King
And you the fattened priest
Two devils together!
You have long been like two giants
A great curse on the world
Soiling in the earth's mud
All the Rights of Man.[19]

Recent research has thrown more light on this song's origins. Williams adapted
and expanded an earlier version of an English song by the Scottish-born poet
Robert Thomson, about whom little is known except that he he who was an active
member of the radical London Corresponding Society in the early 1790s and
fled to France as an exile in 1793. Williams may have come across his "God Save
the Rights of Man", during extended periods in London between 1792 and 1795,
or found it in Thomas Spence's radical publication *Pigsmeat*, which we know
he read.[20] His adaptation, which develops the imagery in a distinctively Welsh
way and anchors it firmly in a religious setting, exemplifies the 'pooling of radi-
cal texts and imagery across the very different political and cultural contexts
of the British Isles'.[21] As Michael Davis has shown, many of these songs—

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19   'Rhyddyd y sydd yn awr / Fal Llew rhuadgar mawr, / Pob Tîr a'i clyw / Ar gwir sydd ar ei
        daith / Dros yr holl ddaear faith / Yn senio peraidd Iaith / I ddynol rhyw. // Clyw'r Brenin
        balch di râs! / A thi'r offeiriad bras; / Dau ddiawl yng nglyn! / Hîr buoch fal dau gawr / I'r
        Byd yn felldith mawr / Gann drochi'n llaid y llawr / Holl Freiniau Dŷn.' (Charnell-White,
        Welsh Poetry 154–155).

20   Robert Thomson's song, for example, reappeared in one of the various collections (known
        generically as *Paddy's Resource*) produced by the United Irishmen in the 1790s: *The Irish
        Harp* (*attun'd to freedom*)*, a collection of patriotic songs; selected for Paddy's amusement*
        (Dublin, n.p.: 1798) 25–27. For the United Irishmen's deployment of popular song see
        Zimmermann G.-D., *Songs of Irish Rebellion. Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs 1780–
        1900* (Hatboro, Pennsylvania: 1967) 37–39.

21   Constantine – Edwards, "Bard of Liberty" 70.

reprinted, revised, adapted for different audiences—acted as a point of 'cohesion' within a fragmented reform movement.[22]

Like other productions in the Welsh language at this time "Breiniau Dyn" tells us something about the translation and transfer of ideas around Britain during the 1790s.[23] It is a process that can be traced at a 'micro' as well as a 'macro' level, by following the threads of contact between groups and individuals, the interweaving of lives and ideas. 'Political Welsh radicalism in the 1790s', as Marion Löffler has put it eloquently, 'was not an organized mass movement, but a fragile web of like-minded men who dared oppose the hegemony of landowner, state and church in their under-urbanized world'.[24] Compared to the United Irishmen, Welsh radicals lacked popular support in the country as a whole, but their energy and determination produced a legacy that has still not been fully appreciated.

It is worth stressing the innovative nature of this development for Welsh poetry and song. As we have seen, Edward Williams and his friends did not have a ready-made vocabulary, or even a set of worked-out positions, upon which to draw to express their opposition to Church and State. There was certainly no radical song tradition, no real protest tradition, of the kind that Thomas Spence could draw upon, reaching back into the 1780s and beyond for oppositional texts and songs to fill up his radical mid-1790s broadsheet.[25] Religious Dissent, of course, provided vocabulary, and some literature, with which to critique the status quo; and the Welsh bardic tradition does a nice line in blistering satire. But it is difficult to find a Welsh-language parallel to the world recently and vividly described by Ian Newman, when the likes of Captain Charles Morris (an ex-army officer and songwriter renowned for his high living and his satirical verses against Prime-minister Pitt) could sway London crowds with what the *Morning Post* called his 'obsceno-political ballads' in ways that

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22   Davis, "An Evening of Pleasure" 122.

23   Issues of linguistic and cultural transfer have proved a constant and fruitful theme in the project; they are discussed at length in a forthcoming volume by Marion Löffler and Heather Williams.

24   Löffler M., "The Marseillaise in Wales", in Constantine M.-A. – Johnston D. (eds.), *'Footsteps of Liberty and Revolt'. Essays on Wales and the French Revolution* (Cardiff: 2013) 93–113, esp. p. 98. See also, by the same author, "Serial literature and radical poetry in Wales at the end of the eighteenth century", in Brown M. – Kennedy C. – Kirk J. – Noble A. (eds.), *United Islands? Multi-Lingual Radical Poetry and Song in Britain and Ireland, 1770–1820. Volume II: The Cultures of Resistance* (London: 2013) 113–128.

25   See Beal J.C., "Why should the Landlords have the best songs? Thomas Spence and the subversion of popular song", in Kirk – Noble – Brown (eds.), *United Islands?* vol. I, 51–62.

made the authorities extremely nervous.[26] Though we may simply have lost all record of equivalent earlier forms in Wales, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the Welsh poets really were breaking new ground in bringing a radical vocabulary into their song tradition.

Löffler's recent exploration of the translation into Welsh of that most revolutionary of all songs, the "Marseillaise", reveals that both Edward Williams ('Iolo Morganwg') and Thomas Evans ('Tomos Glyn Cothi') had some part to play in its appearance in the Welsh language journal, *Y Geirgrawn*, as "Cân Rhyddid" ("Song of Liberty") in 1796. It is, once again, an interestingly adapted text, notably less ferocious in tone than the original. The ultimate identity of its pseudonymous translator, 'Gwilym', is still far from clear, but in Löffler's conclusion we get a flavour of what it meant to assume a Welsh radical identity—to share a discourse, a vocabulary, a set of ideals—at this time:

> Tomos and Iolo, who in the latter's words had been 'for many years on very intimate and friendly terms', were both deeply impressed with the ideas and vocabulary of the French Revolution; and they spent convivial hours together copying each other's manuscripts and composing poetry with and to each other. The song may well have been a co-operative effort.[27]

As the decade wore on, radical expression increasingly took place in the home, amongst close and trusted friends, rather than in the tavern. In a memorable vignette from the mid-1790s, the great-nephew of the Dissenting minister Richard Price recalled that as a child 'while trotted on the knee, I was frequently entertained with the "Marseilles Hymn", "Ça Ira" and a variety of lively French national tunes': Price's nephew, William Morgan, recalled how, with shutters drawn 'against the intrusion of an enemy' the young writer Amelia Alderson Opie would sing to them of Liberty and the fall of tyrants.[28] The dangers of that shared radical code spilling out into the public sphere were made evident in 1801, when Thomas Evans faced charges of sedition for merely *allegedly*

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26   Newman I., *Tavern Talk. Literature, Politics & Conviviality*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles: 2013). I am very grateful to the author for sharing this work in progress.

27   Löffler, "The Marseillaise in Wales" 106.

28   Constantine M.-A. – Frame P. (eds.), *Travels in Revolutionary France & A Journey Across America by George Cadogan Morgan and Richard Price Morgan* (Cardiff: 2012) 6 and 203.

singing an English version of "La Carmagnole" in a Carmarthenshire tavern.[29] The evidence against him was very weak, but in the climate of increased suspicion and intolerance it was sufficient to get him convicted and imprisoned for two years. 'Singing French songs', a regular accusation in spy reports, became official short-hand for identification with French principles, and the importance attached to such songs (among them "La Carmagnole" "Ça Ira" and "La Marseillaise") in various high-profile trials for treason that took place in London in 1794–1795 is well-documented.[30] But it seems that even the *notion* of performing a radical song could, in the harsh political context of the end of the century, be enough to condemn a man to prison.

Language, Identity and the Idea of 'National' Song

Robert Thomson returned to London from France with his family in 1816, and, in poor health and with no means of support, put in an application to the Royal Literary Fund.[31] A series of letters from the RLF archive show that, in order to obtain money from an institution which had distanced itself from more radical beginnings, Thomson felt obliged to rewrite his own literary career: all mention of his collection of radical songs published as *A Tribute to Liberty* in 1792 was therefore omitted from the request letters to the Society. Instead, he claims to be seeking funding for an epic poem about the medieval Scottish hero William Wallace, 'the Savior of his Country, long oppressed'; he includes a specimen first page.[32] Of especial interest is a note written on one letter in a different hand, identifying him as the 'Brother of George Thomson of the "Collection of Scotch Songs", the friend and correspondent of Burns'.

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29   For the trial of Tomos Glyn Cothi see Jenkins G.H., "'A Very Horrid Affair'. Sedition and Unitarianism in the Age of Revolutions", in Davies R.R. – Jenkins G.H. (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales. Historical Essays in Honour of Kenneth O. Morgan and Ralph A. Griffiths* (Cardiff: 2004) 175–196.

30   See Barrell J. – Mee J. (eds.), *Trials for Treason and Sedition*, 6 vols. (London: 2006) vol. 3, 119 and 420; Barrell J., *Imagining the King's Death. Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide 1793–1796* (Oxford: 2000) 495–497.

31   Jon Mee is currently working on the archives of the Royal Literary Fund: I am extremely grateful to him for generously passing on information about Thomson. The (Royal) Literary Fund was established in 1790 by the Glamorgan-born political philosopher David Williams, and helped many famous Romantic-period writers in distress; it is still a functioning charity.

32   Robert Thomson's letters and related material can be found in Royal Literary Fund File 351.

George Thomson is a far more respectable figure. He is best known for working with the Scottish poet Robert Burns to create several collections of *Scottish National Airs*; a venture which grew to include the 'national airs' of other countries of Britain, all beautifully arranged for the drawing-room by composers of international reputation: Haydn, Beethoven, Hummel, von Weber.[33] The connections and contrasts with his brother Robert's songs are therefore fascinating.[34] Both collections are effectively in conversation with the different cultures of the British Isles; both aspire to the creation of a shared ideological 'language'. George Thomson's project aims to acknowledge the diversity of British culture in the safest, most respectable fashion imaginable, in a way that would not unsettle the status of England and English, and which would bring about harmony (quite literally) between the constituent parts.

Between 1809 and 1817 Thomson published three volumes under the title *A Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs.*[35] His letter-book reveals an indefatigable campaign to obtain tunes and information from a wide network of correspondents across Wales, particularly in the years 1804–1805. Moreover, as he informs us in the Preface, 'the anxiety he felt to have a Collection equally complete and authentic, induced him to traverse Wales himself, in order to hear the Airs played by the best harpers, to collate and correct the manuscripts he had received, and to glean such Airs as his correspondents had omitted to gather'.[36]

Among Thomson's contacts was a man called Richard Llwyd, the 'Bard of Snowdon' (1752–1835). In many respects a North-Walian counterpart to Iolo Morganwg, Llwyd was a labouring-class poet, and a devotee of Robert Burns, inspiration and model for many self-educated writers; he was also an insatiable reader of old manuscripts, and passionately interested in genealogy.[37] With the help of Llwyd and others Thomson seems to have felt confident that he had found a representative selection of Welsh tunes, but finding *words* posed a particular problem:

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33   See McCue K., *George Thomson (1757–1851): his collections of national airs in their Scottish cultural context*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Oxford: 1993), and by the same author, "'An individual flowering on a common stem'. Melody, performance and national song", in Connell P. – Leask N. (eds.), *Romanticism and Popular Culture in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: 2009) 88–106.

34   I am currently exploring the Thomson brothers and their Welsh connections in more detail; what follows is a synopsis of work in progress.

35   See Rycroft M.E., "Haydn's Welsh Songs. George Thomson's Musical and Literary Sources", *Welsh Music History* 7 (2008) 92–160.

36   Thomson, George, *A Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: 1809–1817) vol. I, 1.

37   Elizabeth Edwards is currently preparing a book-length study of Llwyd's life and poetry.

> The poetry was his next object, and the Editor imagined at his outset that this would be a much easier acquisition than he has found it, presuming that English songs, suited to a number of the Airs, were to be found in Wales, either in print or manuscript […] but all the letters he received […] concurred in stating that no English Songs for those airs, at least none of any consequence, existed.[38]

The various reasons Thomson offers for this (to him) baffling state of affairs are explored more fully elsewhere: the result, however, is of some significance to the development of his brand of national song. 'It thus became necessary', declares Thomson, with a certain insouciance, 'to get Songs written purposely for every one of the Airs'.

Specially-commissioned lyrics had been a feature of his Scottish volumes, and in that sense (as indeed across Europe at this period) the creation of acceptable singable texts to fit existing popular tunes is not unusual; the Irish poet and songwriter Thomas Moore (1779–1852), calquing his words to native tunes, is a well-known example.[39] Many of Thomson's original song-writers were called in, and although the list does include some Welsh authors many more are English or Scottish, including Sir Walter Scott and Joanna Baillie. Their task was to evoke the spirit of a place and people many of them were little acquainted with. The letters back and forth have consequently entertaining moments, as Thomson sent out detailed instructions on capturing the mood of the air, the exact metre, and adding local colour in the form of place-names. The results are very curious, and cover everything from comedy stage-Welsh to a medievalist 'Walter Scott-esque' version of the Welsh past:

> From Chepstow's towers, ere dawn of morn,
> Was heard afar the bugle horn:
> And forth, in banded pomp and pride
> Stout Clare and fiery Neville ride.
> […]
> Old Chepstow's brides may curse the toil
> That arm'd stout Clare for Cambrian broil.[40]

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38   Thomson, *Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs* vol. i, 2.

39   Wright J.M., "Thomas Moore and the Problem of Colonial Masculinity in Irish Romanticism", in Kirk – Noble – Brown (eds.), *United Islands?* vol. i, 153–165.

40   Scott W., "*Triban Gwyr Morgannwg* / The War Song of the Men of Glamorgan. The Norman Horse Shoe" in Thomson, *Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs* vol. i, 25.

And so on. Another notable feature in the volume is the prominence of women song-writers, including Anne Hunter, Joanna Baillie and Amelia Opie (née Alderson, who sang radical songs behind shuttered windows in the 1790s). Their involvement enhances the drawing-room respectability of the collection, and feminizes it: Thomson is very clear about this, citing Dr Burney's exhortation 'to attach the fair sex by every means to music', and adding for good measure that 'there is no species of music more conducive to innocent happiness than National Airs'.[41] The depoliticizing and feminizing of the 'national air' here is, I suspect, one aspect of a broader tendency to remove the more troubling forms of agency from the peripheries of Britain (including, in this case, the native language). Narratives of conflict are safely located in the past.

This neat quadrangular dance of Welsh and Scottish poets thus appears to pair the 1790s radicals (Iolo Morganwg and Robert Thomson; south-Wales and London) against the later conservative Edinburgh–north-Wales alliance of Richard Llwyd and George Thomson. As we have already seen, however, even Robert Thomson is singing from his brother's hymn sheet by the time he dies. It is therefore perhaps less surprising, given a long-standing interest in the collection of Welsh tunes,[42] to find Edward Williams ('Iolo Morganwg') involved, albeit just for one song, in the Welsh Airs project. His contribution this time, sunnily-titled "The Happy Cambrians", purports to be a translation into English from a poem by an older contemporary bard.[43] Though recalling the oppressions of Rome and of the 'Saxon fierce' (neither of which succeed in subduing the 'dauntless British mind'), the thrust of the poem is resolutely upbeat: Welshmen still, after all (if not in the pages of this volume) 'retain our nervous British tongue', and 'sweet music from the Cimbric lyre charms every social breast'.

> Past is the winter, storms are flown
> Now summer's scenes we trace
> A remnant still in high renown
> Of Britain's *ancient* race.[44]

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41   Thomson, *Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs* vol. I, 3.

42   Constantine M.-A., "Songs and Stones. Iolo Morganwg (1747–1826), Mason and Bard", *The Eighteenth Century. Theory and Interpretation* 47, 2/3 (2006) 233–251.

43   Rhys Jones of Blaenau (1713–1801) was a poet and antiquarian from Llanfachreth, Merionethshire; I have not yet been able to trace the original poem, which was purportedly sung at the Society of Ancient Britons in London.

44   "*Y Cymry Dedwydd* / The Happy Cambrians", in Thomson, *Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs* vol. II, Song 48. An interesting letter from Thomson to Edward Williams is preserved in the letter-book, British Library Add. Mss. 35266 fol. 41–44.

In putting his name to this sociable and non-threatening piece Iolo has judged his editor's political needs very nicely. Where his earlier "Breiniau Dyn" is, more worryingly, all agency and prophecy, all present and future tenses, this song sings from the convivial present about a safely-contained past.

Conclusions

Edward Williams's links to the two very different song-writing brothers Thomson tell us a great deal about how songs were used to express and create political and cultural identities in the Romantic period across the British Isles. The many subversive versions of "God Save the King" and other radical favourites helped link together disparate strands of a political opposition that had no central power base; they also helped, through translation, to spread radical ideas to the different cultures of Britain. The collections of 'national song', on the other hand, while ostensibly celebrating those cultural differences, in fact elided them, pulling native musical traditions into a more homogenized 'British' whole. In Wales, George Thomson's style of national song would be further developed by the poet Felicia Hemans, working with the composer John Parry to produce another drawing-room volume, *Welsh Melodies*, in 1822.[45] These collections contributed to the image of Wales as mildly exotic, but reassuringly rural and picturesque.

Against this polite, literary, and largely Anglophone revival of Welsh traditional airs, however, it is important not to forget that another, far more powerful revival was also well under way in Wales, one carried forward on a real surge of song. Calvinistic Methodism had gained ground in Welsh communities from the 1760s, and would become the dominant form of religion, defining an entire country: it brought with it new sets of identities, and new conflicts, as outwardly subtle but inwardly deep and furious rifts between the various chapel-going denominations provided endless opportunities for definitions of self and other.[46] Hymns, sung by children and adults, often adapted to old folk tunes, would intimately touch and shape lives and minds for the next two centuries to come. And they, of course, were largely in Welsh.

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45 See the discussion by Elizabeth Edwards, " 'Lonely and voiceless your halls must remain': Romantic-era National Song and Felicia Hemans's *Welsh Melodies* (1822)", *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, 1 (March 2015) 83–97. For Parry's connections with native Welsh exponents of national song see Ffion J., ' "To know him is to esteem him'. Ifor Ceri (1776–1829)", *Montgomeryshire Collections* 99 (2011) 53–82.

46 James E.W., "The Evolution of the Welsh Hymn", in Rivers I. – Wykes D.L. (eds.), *Dissenting Praise. Religious Dissent and the Hymn in England and Wales* (Oxford: 2011) 229–268.

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Folksongs, Conflicts and Social Protest in Early Modern France

Éva Guillorel

What remains in oral memory of the social, religious and political conflicts that scarred early modern France, several generations or several centuries after they occurred? The aim of this article is to suggest some answers to these questions by considering a valuable source material, though one rarely used by historians: folksongs. By folksongs, I mean songs collected from oral performance, often (though not exclusively) from among the 'popular' classes. Such songs have become a significant object of interest from the first third of the nineteenth century onwards, usually recorded by collectors who belonged to a different sociocultural background than the singers. Specific characteristics make folksongs distinct from printed songs or newly composed songs which may have only an ephemeral success: such characteristics include particular language patterns, multiple textual and musical variants, and a diffusion over large geographical areas. Recorded texts show a high degree of variability, an indication of the transformations wrought by a process of oral transmission over several generations and often several centuries.[1] Oral transmission, which is a decisive element to define folksongs, is not incompatible with—and in many cases is complementary to—a diffusion of the same narratives and texts in written form (such as manuscripts and songbooks or broadside ballads).

Folksongs form a precious source for understanding how early modern conflicts and social protests were received, appropriated and their memory renewed within popular cultures. They allow an analysis of the dynamics of song cultures and the role of such cultures in the construction of social identities over the long term.[2] Studying folksongs thus invites historians to focus on how a community collectively remembers and reconstructs the past, in other words its 'social memory'. This concept of social memory is inspired by Maurice

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1 The best studies on the definition and characteristics of French folksongs have been written by Coirault P., *Notre chanson folklorique* (Paris: 1942) and Guilcher J.-M., *La chanson folklorique de langue française. La notion et son histoire* (Paris: 1989).

2 Social identities being defined here as relations, values and senses of belonging shared among a group.

Halbwachs's sociological work on collective memory.[3] However, it discusses not only the role of a group in the construction of a collective identity, but also the role of individuals as actors in the process of remembering.[4] The narration of past events that are foundational in group identity is an essential aspect of the constitution of this social memory. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that several early modern historians have used this concept to study the memory of conflicts among specific communities, such as Andy Wood in his study of the English rebellions of 1549 or Guy Beiner's exploration of the United Irishmen's insurrection in 1798.[5] In France, Philippe Joutard has written the most signifi-cant historical work about the connection between oral memory and the con-struction of social identities: he has shown how the collective identity of the Protestant communities in the mountains of Cévennes (south of the Massif Central) in the second half of the twentieth century was inseparable from the memory of the Camisard War between 1702 and 1705, a violent popular insur-rection against Louis XIV's hostile policies towards Protestantism.[6]

However, all these works, based on sources varying from testimonies writ-ten down since the sixteenth century to oral legends collected in the twentieth century, do not prioritise songs.[7] In this article, my purpose is to focus on the specific role of folksongs in the constitution of a social memory of early mod-ern conflicts and social protests (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) in France, and to analyse how the reconstruction of the past through songs transmitted from generation to generation influenced social identities over a long time scale.

Songs, Performances and Identities in Early Modern France: The Contribution of Written Sources

Before focusing on folksongs, it is necessary to present an overview of early modern written sources related to songs and see how historians have used

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3   Halbwachs M., *La mémoire collective* (Paris: 1950), translated in English under the title *The collective memory* (New York: 1980).

4   Fentress J. – Wickham C., *Social Memory* (Oxford – Cambridge: 1992).

5   Wood A., *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* (New York – Cambridge: 2007); Beiner G., *Remembering the Year of the French. Irish Folk History and Social Memory* (Madison: 2006).

6   Joutard P., *La légende des camisards, une sensibilité au passé* (Paris: 1977); Joutard P., *Ces voix qui nous viennent du passé* (Paris: 1983).

7   Among the three historians mentioned, only Guy Beiner pays attention to songs, in parallel with multiple other types of sources.

them. This step is all the more necessary due to the reciprocal influence between oral and written transmission and the unavoidable interweaving of both types of sources. Surprisingly, in spite of—or because of—the multiplicity of French written songs, neither manuscript *chansonniers* nor broadside ballads nor printed songbooks have been the object of an overall analysis.[8] The process of cataloguing, digitizing and editing French songs has proceeded very slowly compared to the situation in other parts of Europe such as the British Isles or the Netherlands[9] (although the repertoire of the Renaissance is better known than the songs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).[10] Important work has also been undertaken on *timbres* (that is the tunes which

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8   See the remarks by Keilhauer A. – Grasland C., "Conditions, enjeux et significations de la formation des grands chansonniers satiriques et historiques à Paris au début du XVIIIe siècle", in Quéniart J. (ed.), *Le chant, acteur de l'histoire* (Rennes: 1999) 167–168; Reichardt R. – Schneider H., "Chanson et musique populaires devant l'Histoire à la fin de l'Ancien Régime", *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 18 (1986) 118.

9   A large corpus of English songs is easily accessible thanks to several databases and digitized collections such as the *Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads* project (http://www .bodley.ox.ac.uk/ballads/ballads.htm, accessed: 7 June 2013) or the *English Broadside Ballad Archive* developed by the University of California-Santa Barbara (http://ebba .english.ucsb.edu/, accessed: 7 June 2013). The *Glasgow Broadside Ballads* project (http://www.gla.ac.uk/t4/~dumfries/files/layer2/glasgow_broadside_ballads/, accessed: 7 June 2013) also proposes interesting connections between broadside ballads and versions of the same songs recently recorded from oral performance, as does the Roud index accessible on the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library's website (http://library.efdss.org/ cgi-bin/home.cgi, accessed: 7 June 2013). In the Netherlands, the *Dutch Song Database* can be considered as a model: it currently gives access to more than 125.000 detailed descriptions of songs from the Middle Ages to the present day (http://www.liederenbank.nl/, accessed: 7 June 2013).

10   The Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance de l'Université François-Rabelais in Tours has developed, within the Ricercar project, a *Catalogue de la chanson de la Renaissance* whose aim is to list all the manuscript and printed French songs between 1480 and 1600. This database currently contains 9000 titles but does not give a direct access to texts (http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/basechanson/index.htm, accessed: 7 June 2013). As for the database included within the project Philidor led by the Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, it does not focus specifically on songs (http:// philidor.cmbv.fr/, accessed: 7 June 2013). The most complete and practical access to texts is still often anthologies published in the nineteenth century which cover only a very small part of the repertoire, such as Le Roux de Lincy A., *Recueil de chants historiques français depuis le XIIe jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: 1841–1842); Raunié É., *Chansonnier historique du XVIIIe siècle* (*formé avec la collection de Clairambault, de Maurepas, et autres manuscrits inédits*) (Paris: 1879–1884).

often have a separate but equally mobile and variable history).[11] We should, however, mention several stimulating avenues of research concerning the links between handwritten *chansonniers* and the construction of social identities under the French *Ancien Régime*. Claude Grasland and Annette Keilhauer have shown how owning such collections of political songs among selective aristocratic circles in the first half of the eighteenth century was a mark of social distinction: having access to songs revealing private and secret information concerning the highest nobility was a way of showing the quality of one's networks at the Court of Versailles.[12] In the repertoire of *vaudevilles*—urban songs dealing with recent political news in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—the reuse of *timbres* highlights mechanisms of memory through associations with political topics developed in older songs composed on the same tunes.[13] Most of the sources concern Paris alone: numerous commentators on the capital have something to say about street songs, for instance Pierre de L'Estoile in the sixteenth century or Louis-Sébastien Mercier and Siméon-Prosper Hardy in the eighteenth century.[14]

Historians have also worked on judicial and police archives to study the dynamics of song cultures in the major cities of the kingdom. Political and satirical songs were sometimes presented as exhibits in trials. Accusations and interrogations have the advantage of placing songs in their social context: they offer lively descriptions of the act of performance, reactions of the audience and interactions between orality and writing, as well as showing how songs played an essential role in the constitution of social identities. Robert Darnton develops a good illustration of this in his study of the 'Affaire des Quatorze', in which he analyses how political songs were composed and circulated among

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11   Schneider H. (ed.), *La Clef des chansonniers (1717). Erweiterte kritische Neuausgabe* (Hildesheimer – Zürich – New York: 2005).

12   Keilhauer A. – Grasland C., "'La rage de collection'. Conditions, enjeux et significations de la formation des grands chansonniers satiriques et historiques à Paris au début du XVIIIe siècle (1710–1750)", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 47, 3 (2000) 477–479.

13   Grasland C., "Chansons et vie politique à Paris sous la Régence", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 37, 4 (1990) 537–570.

14   L'Estoile P. de, *Registre-journal du règne de Henri III*, ed. M. Lazard – G. Schrenck (Geneva: 1992–2003); L'Estoile P. de, R*egistre-journal du règne de Henri IV. Tome I (1589–1591)*, ed. G. Schrenck – X. Le Person – V. Mecking (Geneva: 2011); Mercier L.-S., *Le Tableau de Paris*, ed. J.-C. Bonnet (Paris: 1994); Hardy S.-P., *Mes Loisirs, ou Journal d'événemens tels qu'ils parviennent à ma connoissance*, ed. P. Bastien – S. Juratic – D. Roche (Paris: 2012).

networks of students and ecclesiastics in the Quartier Latin in Paris in the 1740's, asset in the larger context of protest against Louis XV's policies.[15]

Early modern historians have also used judicial archives to study another type of protest: *charivari* ('rough music'), a festive ritual expressing disapproval of mismatched marriages or remarriages. They have insisted on the importance of such public performances with songs and noise that guaranteed community cohesion and were part of expressions of sociability shared among youth groups in particular. However, only rarely did court officials write down complete verses or stanzas.[16] A trial of the composer of a satirical song in 1773 in the north of Brittany gives such an example, because the entire song is reproduced as an exhibit. This document is not only one of the oldest complete secular songs known in the Breton language,[17] but the trial record also provides rich circumstantial detail about the performance, reception and emotional effect of the song on the audience: the language, metrics and tune as well the hour and the place of the public performance were carefully chosen in order to maximise the effect of the song.[18] Similar songs—written to undermine a reputation or to exclude a member of a community—can be found in other judicial archives. The interchange between orality and writing reinforced the reception and circulation of the song: in Narbonne in the eighteenth century, handwritten and printed satirical songs were put up in streets, the printer being paid thanks to a clandestine subscription.[19] In Auvergne in 1778, a defamatory song composed by a cutler's apprentice about his former master's daughter was given to beggars with the instruction to spread it: several

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15   Darnton R., *Poetry and the Police. Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London – Cambridge: 2010). For other research focusing on police archives in Paris during the same period, see Cottret B. – Cottret M., "Les chansons du mal-aimé: raison d'Etat et rumeur publique (1748–1750)", in *Histoire sociale, sensibilités collectives et mentalités. Mélanges Robert Mandrou* (Paris: 1985) 303–315.

16   For several exceptions in Lyon in 1668 or in Languedoc in the end of the eighteenth century, see Zemon Davis N., "Charivari, honneur et communauté à Lyon et à Genève", in Le Goff J. – Schmitt J.-C. (eds.), *Le Charivari* (Paris: 1981) 216; Castan N., "Contentieux social et utilisation variable du charivari à la fin de l'Ancien Régime en Languedoc", in Le Goff J. – Schmitt J.-C. (eds.), *Le Charivari* (Paris: 1981) 200–202.

17   The Breton language belongs to the Celtic family such as Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

18   Guillorel É., *La complainte et la plainte. Chanson, justice, cultures en Bretagne (XVIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècles)* (Rennes: 2010) 221–223.

19   Castan, "Contentieux social et utilisation variable du charivari" 199.

witnesses were able to faithfully recite some verses which were written down during the interrogations.[20]

In spite of their great interest, songs mentioned in judicial archives or literary sources, even when they give information about oral practices, transmission and circulation, rarely allow historians to observe the process of integration into oral tradition over a long time scale (more than three generations).[21] In exceptional cases, they help to understand the mechanisms through which folksongs were reused, and thus retained a subversive power through the centuries. For instance, in a trial held in 1638 in New France, a gang of employees, having stolen peas in their master's garden, sang "Pauvre bonhomme, tu n'es pas Maistre en ta maison quand nous y sommes", a song that has been collected from oral tradition and that can still be heard nowadays in the French repertoire.[22]

Early Modern Conflicts and Social Protests in Folksongs

What, then, remains of early modern conflicts and social protests in folksongs, and can this material provide alternative and complementary information to advance our understanding of the dynamics of song cultures and the construction of social identities? When studying the French repertoire of song types (as ethnomusicologists call songs when they want to include all their variants),[23]

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20   Loddo D., "L'œuvre orale dans la tradition des chansonniers", in *De l'écriture d'une tradition orale à la pratique orale d'une écriture* (Parthenay: 2000) 166.

21   It corresponds to the maximum number of generations that could coexist in early modern societies, from grandparents to grandchildren. After three generations, the continuity of the remembrance reveals the existence of mechanisms of memory over the long term. Zonabend F., *La mémoire longue. Temps et histoires au village* (Paris: 1983), translated into English under the title *The enduring memory: Time and history in a French village* (Manchester: 1984).

22   "Poor man, you are not the master in your house when we are in it." Gagnon E., "Voleurs de pois et vieille chanson", *La Nouvelle-France. Revue des intérêts religieux et nationaux du Canada fançais* 7 (1908) 530–533; Pichette J.-P., "La découverte de la chanson traditionnelle française en Canada ou la fascination d'un folklore vivifié", in Postic F. (ed.), *La Bretagne et la littérature orale en Europe* (Mellac – Brest: 1999) 263–264.

23   The concept of 'song type' has been coined in order to cope with the high degree of variation characteristic for songs in oral tradition and performance. Despite this variability, different performances can retain some features that enable the researcher to establish that, at some level, the songs are 'the same'. These core features include both content (plot, imagery) and form (rhyme schemes, melody) which remain stable from one

as defined in the catalogue compiled by Patrice Coirault, the rarity of folksongs relating to early modern historical events, or indeed more recent events, is striking. Coirault lists only twenty song types under his category of 'political-historical songs'; a few others—listed in other categories or not classified—can be added, out of a total of several thousands of known types.[24] Despite the large number of broadside ballads on such themes printed between the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, very few have been integrated into oral tradition or, at least, have been written down or recorded by folksong collectors. Most of the few song types on early modern historical events that are well documented in oral tradition, deal with military conflicts such as naval battles or the capture of cities. The ballad about the sack of Rome in 1527 was still being sung (and recorded) in the west of France in the late twentieth century.[25] Several songs describing naval actions during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) have been collected in France as well as in French Canada.[26] Rare secular songs related to sectarian conflicts survive, such as "La protestante martyre" which tells the story of a Protestant girl condemned to death because she refused to be converted: although it is not possible to connect this song to a precise event, it enlightens in a very concrete way the everyday tensions between Catholics and Protestants in post-Reformation France.[27] In a more political perspective, several ballads on the death of the Marshall of Biron circulated throughout the whole francophone area: they describe how this close companion of King Henry IV was convicted of treachery and condemned in 1602.[28] Finally, we should mention a few songs about famous bandits from the eighteenth

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iteration to the next. Songs may be ascribed to a particular 'song type' if they exhibit these core features.

24 Coirault P., *Répertoire des chansons françaises de tradition orale,* vol. II, *La vie sociale et militaire*, ed. G. Delarue – Y. Fédoroff – S. Wallon (Paris: 2000) 275–286.

25 Recordings published on the CDs *Aux sources du patrimoine oral,* vol. VII*, Chansons recueillies à Rieux/Saint-Jean-de-la-Poterie* (L'Épille: 2003) 12, and *Tradition chantée de Haute Bretagne. Les grandes complaintes* (ArMen/La Bouèze/C.C.B.P.V./Dastum 44: 1998) CD 2.09; other unpublished versions have been recently recorded by Charles Quimbert.

26 Laurent D., "La reddition du Foudroyant en 1758. Un épisode de la guerre de sept ans à travers la chanson française de tradition orale en France et en Nouvelle-France", in Pichette J.-P. (ed.), *Entre Beauce et Acadie. Facettes d'un parcours ethnologique. Études offertes au professeur Jean-Claude Dupont* (Québec: 2001) 250–262. Laforte, C., *Le catalogue de la chanson folklorique française,* vol. II, *Chansons strophiques* (Québec: 1981) 97–99, Conrad Laforte Catalogue number (CL) II.A-69; Patrice Coirault Catalogue number (PC) 7107.

27 *Tradition chantée de Haute Bretagne. Les grandes complaintes*, CD 2.08 and booklet. CL II.B-19; PC 8423.

28 CL VI.B-02, VI.B-03; PC 6101 to 6103.

century,[29] especially the smuggler Louis Mandrin who lived in the Dauphiné in the 1750s or the gang-leader Louis-Dominique Cartouche who was arrested in Paris and executed in 1721.[30] In many instances printed versions of these songs circulated during the *Ancien Régime*, so that oral transmission and written record influenced each other in the constitution of a social memory that may still be strong even today.

However, the corpus of French 'historical' folksongs remains limited. One of the reasons is that the aesthetics of French folksongs gives priority to depersonalised protagonists and stereotyped locations.[31] Some songs still in circulation today may have originated in a song composed around a particular event in the early modern period, but they have since lost their recognizable historical background during the process of oral transmission. It is not surprising that timeless plots such as love stories have greater longevity within the popular repertoire than those dealing with specific conflicts: when the political or social background which inspired the song had passed away, there would be less purpose in continuing to transmit it. Songs composed in France during the Wars of Religion at the end of the sixteenth century clearly illustrate this phenomenon. In 1589, in the tense context of the conflict that had started in 1562, the ex-Protestant Henry of Navarre, newly converted to Catholicism, ascended the throne. For a whole decade, his supporters fought against the ultra-Catholic *Ligueurs* who refused to recognize a former Protestant as king. As frequently happened during periods when royal authority appeared weak, the production of songs exploded.[32] Therefore, a large part of the written songs known to us from the second half of the sixteenth century were about political and religious topics.[33] Songs were a privileged method of spreading a political and religious message, especially one contesting the established order. Both sides performed them to defend group identities while also using them to transmit news and propaganda about events that formed part of the conflict. However, what remains of this profusion of songs in oral tradition after several generations? In French folksong, these events have left almost no known traces, the exception being a song about the murder of the Duke of Guise, one of the major Catholic leaders,

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29   On this point, see the model analysed in Hobsbawm E., *Bandits* (London: 1969).

30   CL II. A-64, III.G-01; PC 9509, 9510.

31   Coirault, *Notre chanson folklorique* 131–132; Guilcher, *La chanson folklorique de langue française* 108.

32   Such as mazarinades during the Fronde (the civil war during the minority of Louis XIV, 1648–1653) or 'vaudevilles' during the Régence (minority of Louis XV, 1715–1723).

33   Le Roux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques français* 234–235.

in 1563.[34] In a striking contrast, a very interesting and unusual corpus of six different song types concerning the Wars of Religion were preserved in the Breton language, and have been collected from oral performance since the nineteenth century.[35] At least ninety different variant recordings of these six song types have been catalogued.

This quantitative difference between the song repertoire of the two linguistic areas can be explained by the existence, in the Breton tradition, of a literary genre that is found neither in French nor in other Romance languages: *gwerzioù* (singular: *gwerz*). These narrative ballads are characterised by their length (often several dozens of stanzas), the great precision of people and place names recalled, and the meticulous details they propose about events, usually local but sometimes more remote, and always tragic. The ability of *gwerzioù* to render precise facts but also the quality of the information they contain concerning material culture, social tensions or religious behaviours in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Brittany has frequently been demonstrated by historians from the nineteenth century onwards.[36] Breton ballads possess one more characteristic that makes them especially remarkable as a historical source through which to study the memory of conflicts and social protests over the long term: almost no written secular song in the Breton language, whether in manuscript or in print, circulated before the end of the eighteenth century.[37] This requires us to think about the reciprocal influence between orality and literacy in the constitution of social memory in Brittany in a very different way than for the French-speaking area. Apart from songs on the wars of the Catholic League, Breton ballads about other social, political and religious conflicts also exist. We can mention rare cases of anti-seigniorial peasants' revolts at the end of the fifteenth century, many versions about the conspiracy of the marquis of Pontcallec against the Regent Philippe of Orleans in 1720, and also a group of songs about revolutionary and above all counter-revolutionary events in the 1790s which praise the King and the Catholic Church.[38] However, other major

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34   Coirault P., "Recherches sur l'ancienneté et l'évolution d'anciennes chansons populaires françaises de tradition orale", exposé III, *Mémoire de l'Institut général psychologique* (1929) 63–72.

35   These songs are about sieges of cities or exactions perpetrated by either Royalist or *Ligueurs* soldiers.

36   For a historiographical and methodological survey, see Guillorel, *La complainte et la plainte* 23–171.

37   By contrast, printed documents exist for a religious repertoire. Guillorel, *La complainte et la plainte* 115–116.

38   Nassiet M., "Émeutes et révolte en Bretagne pendant la guerre d'indépendance (1487–1490)", in *Violence et contestation au Moyen Âge. Actes du 114ᵉ congrès national des sociétés*

socio-political events appear to have left hardly any trace in the oral traditions collected since the nineteenth century, for example the revolt known as the 'Bonnets Rouges' in 1675, the most important popular revolt in early modern Brittany.[39] It is true that we know only about the songs that someone took the trouble to collect, and others may have escaped from their vigilance, but the fact that some songs were frequently collected demonstrates their popular success and their deep integration into oral transmission, sometimes even after four centuries.

Folksongs as a Source to Understand the Dynamics of Song Cultures

Why were certain songs about conflicts and protests transmitted over generations whereas others have been forgotten? And in what ways does evidence of such a transmission help us understand the dynamics of song cultures and the construction of social identities? These are relatively new questions in folksong research, whereas previous generations of researchers were more interested in who composed and spread these songs.

   Which social groups have remembered them and why? Why were some historical characters turned into heroes whereas others, much more influential in the course of history, left no trace in social memory? What was the role of writing in the diffusion of the repertoire at different periods? How did tunes influence the reception of songs and their integration into oral traditions? The answers to these questions clearly bear on our topic, but they are difficult to determine because of the more or less complete absence of information concerning actors and conditions of oral transmission before the nineteenth century. Even the numerous French ethnographic surveys that followed each another since the 1830s, seldom provide much information on the singers and the context of performance, let alone how they perceived the historical content of the songs: antiquarians and folklorists focused mainly on the texts and not

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savantes (Paris: 1990) 138–156; Guillorel É., "La complainte du marquis de Pontcallec, les gwerzioù bretonnes et l'histoire", in Cornette J., *Le Marquis et le Régent. Une conspiration bretonne à l'aube des Lumières* (Paris: 2008) 297–338; Dupuy R., "Chansons populaires et chouannerie", *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 25, 4 (1978) 2–15.

39   A problematic song on this theme conserved in the manuscripts of the antiquarian Jean-Marie de Penguern is possibly a forgery composed in the nineteenth century. It is published in Penguern J.-M., "Le papier timbré", *Bulletin de l'association archéologique de Bretagne* (1851) 78–80.

the context. Only since the second half of the twentieth century have new generations of ethnologists opened innovative avenues of research that required that these topics be tackled. I make no pretence to solve these multiple problems, I simply propose here to make some remarks from the study of folksongs collected in France.

Certain songs about historical characters, it seems, have the capacity to adapt to the expectations of the individuals and groups who transmit them. However strong the political will is to spread certain songs, audiences learn and diffuse them only if they like them. Peter Burke suggests that some historical characters' lives correspond more easily to expected stereotypes than others, and that it is easier to adapt a hero's life to preexisting motifs than to create new stereotypes.[40] The Breton ballads about the death of Guy Éder de La Fontenelle, a nobleman who supported the League and who was arrested in 1602, and the *gwerz* about the beheading of the marquis of Pontcallec more than one century later, are very similar in their presentation, as they are to other ballad accounts of the executions of murderers and outlaws subsequently turned into heroes. The description of their death on the scaffold reuses narrative motifs common to a large range of literary genres.[41] Using stereotypes thus facilitates the integration of songs into oral tradition, but the consequence is a simplification and rewriting of the story that directs it away from the initial historical events.

The results of contemporary fieldwork show that singers are seldom conscious of the original historical context of songs that have undergone several generations of transmission. The groups who continue to transmit them must therefore find something in them that is relevant to their own time and their own concerns. One solution frequently adopted by singers is to remove all specific socio-political references and to make the song focus on a timeless plot. For example, the Breton ballads about the kidnapping and death of Jeannette Le Roux by René de La Tremblaye, a Royalist captain well-known for his abuses during the wars of the League, do not focus on the political situation of the civil war, as one might expect in French handwritten and printed ballads

40   Burke P., *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: 1994; first ed. 1978) 169–170.

41   For other narrative genres describing similar scenes of public executions, see Pech T., *Conter le crime. Droit et littérature sous la Contre-Réforme: Les histoires tragiques (1559–1644)* (Paris: 2000); Lever M., *Canards sanglants. Naissance du fait divers* (Paris: 1993). Concerning the social meaning of public executions in early modern France, see Foucault M., *Surveiller et punir* (Paris: 1975) 53–58; Bée M., "Le spectacle de l'exécution dans la France d'Ancien Régime", *Annales ESC* 38, 4 (1983) 843–862; Bastien P., *L'exécution publique à Paris au XVIIIe siècle. Une histoire des rituels judiciaires* (Paris: 2006).

dealing with the same period, but on the suicide of a girl who decides to kill herself rather than losing her honour. Such a subject has strong emotional potential and can easily keep its meaning outside of its immediate historical context.[42] Another way to renew the story is to relocate the ballad, which often requires simply changing a place name: this practice is strikingly common in folksongs about sieges of cities, where Mantua can be easily exchanged with Namur, Maastricht or even Paris, Moscow and Toronto.[43] However, the fact that these songs continue to be sung can be explained less by their capacity to adapt to new locations better known to the audience than by the fact that the story's meaning can keep its relevance in a community. As David Hopkin suggests, the stereotype of the besieged city—found in the entire European song culture from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries—surely found a popular audience and entered into the repertoire of folksongs less for its military significance than for its social resonance: it evokes, in an allusive and even metaphorical way, social expectations concerning men and women's behaviours during war time.[44]

Another mechanism through which old songs rediscover their relevance requires them to retain their socio-political dimension but to express it in later historical contexts that are more familiar to singers. The French ballad "Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre" is a good example of this phenomenon. This humorous song must have been composed after the battle of Malplaquet in 1709. It relates the death of the duke of Marlborough, commander of the English and Dutch troops who tried to invade France.[45] The song was revived at the Court of Versailles in the 1780s and then became a classic among children's songs, whose diffusion was relayed by educational institutions, so that most of French people today are able at least to hum it.[46] In fact, Patrice Coirault has shown that this song with its apparent anglophobe sentiment was no more than a new version of an older song describing the murder of the duke of Guise

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42   Guillorel, *La complainte et la plainte* 455–458.

43   See the detail of song types about besieged cities in Coirault, *Répertoire des chansons françaises de tradition orale*, vol. II, 373–377 and Coirault P., "Recherches sur l'ancienneté et l'évolution d'anciennes chansons populaires françaises de tradition orale", exposé I, *Bulletin de l'Institut général psychologique* 27, 4–6 (1927) 131.

44   Hopkin D., "Sieges, Seduction and Sacrifice in Revolutionary War: the 'Virgins of Verdun', 1792", *European History Quarterly* 37, 4 (2007) 528–547.

45   Marlborough was actually well and truly alive but his army had suffered heavy losses during the battle.

46   More details about the renewing of the song and references of published versions since 1784 can be found in Doncieux G., *Le romancéro populaire de la France* (Paris: 1904) 455–461.

during the Wars of Religion 150 years before: the song circulated among
Protestant circles to celebrate the death of this ultra-Catholic leader and rein-
forced their religious identity cohesion. It was printed in several anthologies of
songs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the song about
the duke of Guise is itself a new version of an even older song that, accord-
ing to the text of a handwritten *chansonnier* from the first half of the eigh-
teenth century, deals with the death of René de Chalon, prince of Orange and
count of Nassau, at the siege of Saint-Dizier in 1544 (during the Italian Wars
between France and the Holy Roman Empire): the prince of Orange com-
manding Charles V's troops was killed during a violent assault, resulting in the
order given by the French king François I to organize a big victory celebration
throughout the kingdom.[47] In this way, the same song, by just changing one
word—the name of the protagonist—was alternately used to express totally
different political and religious interests. Such a capacity for renewal is a key
element to understand this song's success in oral tradition. Of course, other
elements contribute to this success: firstly the spectacular court-based enthu-
siasm for the song at the end of the eighteenth century; and subsequently
its reproduction in successful anthologies and song sheets (such as images
d'Epinal), which diffused it among the popular classes.[48] In this way its current
ubiquity would largely result from written propagation led by elites. However,
if the anecdote according to which the queen Marie-Antoinette heard the song
from a nurse in charge of her son is true, it means that it still circulated orally
among popular classes almost eighty years after the battle of Malplaquet. In
addition, the version of the song that is familiar today is one standardized
version that has been constantly republished and recycled since the 1780s; by
contrast, the great number of textual and melodic variants, the multiplicity
of refrains and the broad diffusion of versions collected in France but also in
French-speaking America constitute a corpus whose richness is the result of
an oral transmission over the long term.[49] The song of Marlborough was also
known abroad. The tune was popular in Holland as well as England, where

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47   Coirault, *Recherches sur notre chanson traditionnelle* 63–72.
48   Six Épinal prints on Marlborough realised between the 1820s and 1860s are referenced
      in Garnier-Pelle N. – Préaud M., *L'imagerie populaire française. Images d'Épinal gravées
      sur bois II* (Paris: 1996) 259–260. A reproduction in colour of the song "Mort et convoi
      de l'invincible Marlborough", printed in Épinal around 1825, is presented in Mistler J. –
      Blaudez F. – Jacquemin A., *Épinal et l'imagerie populaire* (Paris: 1961) 113; Martin D., *Images
      d'Épinal* (Paris – Québec: 1995) 132, 223.
49   For a musicological approach to the diversity of refrains and tunes collected in French
      Canada, see Kolinski M., "Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre: Seven Canadian Versions of a
      French Folksong", *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 10 (1978) 1–32.

it still serves for songs with a completely different topic, such as "For he's a jolly good fellow".[50] "Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre" is thus a beautiful example of the complex and fertile interaction between oral, written and even iconographic forms evolving in parallel and partly influencing each other.

The role of media external to the normal scheme of oral transmission can be invoked in other cases to understand the success of certain songs over a long time scale. For instance, the most famous song associated today with Louis Mandrin (who died in 1755)—although it does not name him—owes its popularity to its reuse during the *Commune de Paris* in 1871, while its integration into the repertoire of youth movements from the 1930s and later was the result of its take-up by successful commercial French singers from the mid twentieth century, such as Guy Béard or Yves Montand.[51] Other songs about Mandrin, possibly inspired by broadsides, nonetheless continued to circulate in oral tradition across the Atlantic Ocean where they were recorded several times in Quebec and in the Canadian Maritime Provinces during the twentieth century.[52] The social memory concerning Mandrin is composed not only of songs, but is also built up of many other anecdotes and legends that have been collected since the nineteenth century. These have been revived later in various commemorative forms, spread thanks to a great variety of media (from printed stories to films), so that the remembrance of the smuggler, which is still alive today—particularly in the places where he lived—has been substantially influenced by mechanisms exterior to a familial and local oral tradition.[53]

The history of the song concerning Marshall Biron is less straightforward. It was certainly the case that broadside ballads relating his execution in 1602 circulated in the seventeenth century,[54] but versions recorded from oral performance throughout the francophone area show a high capacity for re-elaborating the story, as Geneviève Massignon has shown.[55] Although folk-ballads on this theme were collected throughout France in the nineteenth century, it is

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50   For the Netherlands see www.liederenbank.nl. For Great Brittain see the Steve Roud Index (http://www.vwml.org/search/search-roud-indexes#).

51   Huss V. (ed.), *Louis Mandrin, malfaiteur ou bandit au grand coeur?* (Grenoble: 2005) 101.

52   CL II.A-64, III.G-01.

53   Huss, *Louis Mandrin* 119–136; Lüsebrink H.-J., *Histoires curieuses et véritables de Cartouche et Mandrin* (Paris: 1984) 11–76; Lüsebrink H.-J., "La réprésentation du 'bandit social' Mandrin dans la littérature et l'iconographie du XVIIIᵉ siècle: champ d'une 'culture de l'entre-deux'?", in *Les intermédiaires culturels* (Aix-en-Provence: 1981) 291–304.

54   Such as a version published in *Le Trésor et triomphe des plus belles chansons et airs de cour tant pastorales que musicale* (Paris, Rolin Bargues: 1624).

55   Massignon G., *Trésors de la chanson populaire française. Autour de 50 chansons recueillies en Acadie* (Paris: 1994), vol. I, 59–77; vol. II, 29–41.

mainly in Normandy that the most recent versions have been located: indeed about twenty variants were recorded from old singers as recently as the first years of the twenty-first century. To explain this persistence we should note the quality of recent fieldwork undertaken by local associations that are more active in Normandy than in many other areas;[56] nonetheless, a real specificity in Lower Normandy—especially in the Cotentin peninsula—emerges concerning the perpetuation of an oral memory about the arrest and execution of Biron. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this revitalisation came about through the diffusion of later written texts, even though no document has come to light to support this hypothesis; however, both the song's very broad diffusion (collected everywhere in France but also in Louisiana, Acadia and Quebec)[57] and the quantity of different but related variants indicate that the primary means of diffusion was oral transmission over a long period. One comment recorded in Cotentin in 2007 from a singer who still knew a very complete version of the ballad offers a partial explanation for its continuing popularity: he mentioned that, when he was young, the song was a feature of buckwheat threshing, when it was sung in a call and response format, with the entire work team joining in with the last two lines of each stanza. Thus in some places the ballad was associated with the practice of collective singing related to major agricultural tasks that continued until the mid twentieth century.[58]

Folksongs, Ecotypes and Social Identities

Highlighting this Norman predilection in the case of Biron invites us to consider why some songs prove popular with particular audiences, and what this pattern of local diffusion might tell historians. This local level of analysis is particularly interesting if we introduce the concept of folkloric ecotype, considered—according to Jonathan Roper's definition—as 'a special version of a type of any folkloristic genre limited to a particular cultural area in which it has developed differently from examples of the same type in other areas, because

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56   These versions have been recorded during fieldworks realised by the association La Loure.

57   See the references given by Patrice Coirault and Conrad Laforte in their catalogues: CL VI.B-02, VI.B-03; PC 6101 to 6103.

58   See the song interpreted by André Dufour and the comments written by Yvon Davy in the booklet of the CD *"Par un lundi m'y prit envie…" Grandes complaintes de Normandie* (La Loure: 2008) 64–67.

of national, political, geographical and historical conditions'.[59] David Hopkin, referring to Carl von Sydow's pioneering works and Roger Abraham's more recent research, further states that 'the process of ecotypification, the way that a cultural artefact becomes adapted to a specific milieu, not only reveals the cultural preferences of the group but also connects those preferences to particular experiences'.[60]

Breton folksongs about the French Revolution are a relevant corpus to demonstrate how the concept of ecotypes can help us understand the role of folksongs as both constructing and revealing social identities based on competing memories. In Brittany, some *brioù*—groups of parishes sharing specificities such as dialects, clothing or other cultural aspects—remained faithful to the king and the Catholic Church whereas others recognized the authority of the new regime. The conflicts following the end of the *Ancien Régime* resulted in a particularly violent civil war in Western France in the 1790s, and the political divisions generated at that time left traces still noticeable today.[61] A Republican song tradition was perceptible in the Pays Bigouden (extreme South-West of Brittany) until the 1980s,[62] whereas a counter-Revolutionary memory still exists in Pays Vannetais (South-East of Breton-speaking Brittany) in a zone deeply affected by *Chouannerie*.[63]

When we analyze the specificities of several Vannetais songs, we can see a clear phenomenon of ecotypification. The *gwerz* about the murder of a young maidservant called Perinaig ar Mignon relates a local event dating back to 1695 in Lannion (North of Brittany); it had circulated throughout the Breton-speaking area and it can be heard among traditional singers even today. All versions except one mention that the girl's murderers were customs officers; the exception, collected in Vannetais in the beginning of the twentieth century, states that they were Republican soldiers, thus adding an anti-revolutionary

59   Roper J., "Towards a Poetic, Rhetorics and Proxemics of Verbal Charms", *The Electronic Journal of Folklore* 24 (2003) 44.

60   Hopkin D., "The Ecotype, Or a Modest Proposal to Reconnect Cultural and Social History", in Calaresu M. – De Vivo F. – Rubiés J.-P. (eds.), *Exploring Cultural History. Essays in Honour of Peter Burke* (London: 2010) 36.

61   Dupuy R., *La Bretagne sous la Révolution et l'Empire (1789–1815)* (Rennes: 2004); Croix A., *Mémoire de 93. Sur les traces de la Révolution en Bretagne* (Rennes: 1997); Lagrée M. – Roche J., *Tombes de mémoire. La dévotion populaire aux victimes de la Révolution dans l'Ouest* (Rennes: 1993).

62   Le Prat Y., "'*Vive la République!' Ar Volonter*, récit de combat naval et chant républicain", in Postic F. (ed.), *Bretagnes, du coeur aux lèvres. Mélanges offerts à Donatien Laurent* (Rennes: 2009) 69–90.

63   *Chouans* were Royalist rebels.

moral which no doubt received a positive echo in that part of Brittany.[64] Indeed, adding a political connotation to a non-political song enabled singers to give it new relevance in a later context. Again in Vannetais, several versions of the ballad about the death of the marquis of Pontcallec in 1720, recorded between the end of the nineteenth century and the end of the 1970s, replace the story against the background of the French Revolution with, in some cases, clearly pro-revolutionary connotations.[65] Two coexisting but conflictual social memories—one Republican and the other Royalist—are revealed by analysing folkloric ecotypes.

The phenomenon of ecotypification is an active process of adaptation to a specific public: the song is renewed according to the feelings of the targeted audience and different versions can convey contradictory political and social sensitivities, even when based on the same story. "Marù Jean Jan" ("Jean Jan's Death") is a good illustration of this: this *gwerz* was composed about the death of the *Chouan* leader Jean Jan killed by surprise by Republican soldiers in Melrand in 1798. Remembrance of the event was transmitted orally over the following decades. At the end of the nineteenth century, this oral tradition of legends and songs was reenergized by the local clergy: the priest Jean-Marie Guilloux 'rediscovered' and highlighted bones attributed to one of Jean Jan's companions in a chapel; he also wrote a short biography of the *Chouan*, published in a local historical society's journal.[66] A few years later, François Cadic, another priest, published a second version of the ballad, together with long explanations in favour of the *Chouan* side.[67] During the 1900s, a period when the power of the Church was strongly challenged by the government of the Third Republic—the most striking event being the law of Separation of the Church and the State in 1905—the reactivated memory of Jean Jan was interpreted as a heroic sacrifice for the preservation of the Catholic faith. By contrast, two generations later, when the socialist singing farmer Joachim Le Clainche used to publicly sing the same *gwerz* as well as other ballads about

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64   Cadic F., "La jeune fille de Lannion", *Paroisse Bretonne de Paris* (June 1915); republished in Cadic F., *Chansons populaires de Bretagne publiées dans la Paroisse Bretonne de Paris (1899–1929)* (Rennes: 2010) 194.

65   Guillorel, "La complainte du marquis de Pontcallec" 297–338.

66   Guilloux J.-M., "Mort de Jean Jan et de l'Invincible", *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan* (1899) 54–77.

67   Cadic F., "La mort de Jean Jan", *Paroisse Bretonne de Paris* (June 1915); republished in Cadic, *Chansons populaires de Bretagne publiées dans la Paroisse Bretonne de Paris* 407–410. The songs collected by both priests, enriched by new versions and comments by Father Danigo and Yves Le Diberder, are published in Cadic F., *Chants de Chouans* (Paris: 1949; Geneva – Paris: 1981) 153–172.

the Counter-Revolution, his goal was to mock *Chouans* by reminding of their defeats.[68] Analysis of these Breton ecotypes thus illustrates an important point stressed by David Hopkin: that such oral traditional sources allow the researcher to study socio-cultural identities at different scales, from the macro—here the pertinence of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary events in the social memory of the Pays Vannetais—to the micro—the emotional attachment of certain singers to certain songs, in connection with their own life experiences.[69]

The context of performance of Breton revolutionary songs is well documented around the village of Baud (Vannetais) thanks to the fieldwork of Loeiz Le Bras, who personally knew and recorded Joachim Le Clainche. His findings confirm the strength of oral traditions concerning the Revolution—songs, but also legends and comments about landscapes and artefacts—and this event's role in maintaining distinctive identity groups: until the 1970s, socialists and conservatives confronted each other during electoral campaigns by singing pro or anti-*Chouan* songs, although the events had happened nearly two centuries before.[70] The public and collective dimension of these performances is an important reason why folksongs are a particularly valuable source for studying social identities. Although singing is not always a group practice—people can sing for themselves without any listener— it is first and foremost a social activity that implies the interaction between a singer and an audience whose members can interpret songs in different ways according to their own feelings. The practice of group singing, which is common in Brittany, affirms a collective adhesion to social and political values publicly shared, and thus actively contributes to the construction of social identities.

Conclusion

Folksongs are an underestimated historical source. However, they appear to be very rich for studying the dynamics of song cultures in a historical perspective, not only during the early modern period but also in modern societies. Through the dimension of collective performance, as a consequence of oral transmission (not readily controlled by agents of authority), as a result of the appeal of both the literary and musical content to a great number of people, and by

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68   Croix, *Mémoire de 93* 18–19.

69   Hopkin D., "The Ecotype" 50–53. I would like to thank David Hopkin for his many suggestions about this article and his help for the translation, as well as Robert Bouthillier and Ingrid Åkesson for their remarks.

70   All my thanks to Loeiz Le Bras for generously sharing his experience of fieldwork with me.

music's capacity to generate strong emotions, songs can influence the judgement of the audience and reveal the feelings and sympathies of the individual or the group who perform and/or listen to them. They are therefore not only a privileged medium in the construction and transmission of sociocultural identities, but they also reveal the existence of such identities to investigators. Folksongs bring an alternative and complementary dimension to the written records usually studied by historians. Although the conditions of production of this repertoire are poorly documented, its reception, diffusion and appropriation into oral tradition are better known and can be analysed thanks to traces left in social performance several decades or even centuries after the events recounted. Thus, folksongs are a rare and precious source through which we can analyse the mechanisms of social memory over a long time scale and the phenomenon of the construction and reconstruction of the past in a popular context.

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"Fortune My Foe": The Circulation of an English Super-Tune

Christopher Marsh

There can be little doubt that "Fortune my Foe" was the best-known secular melody in early modern England. Its extraordinary prominence within musical culture began in the 1560s and continued into the eighteenth century. During this long period, the tune acquired a range of alternative names and travelled widely, both up and down the social scale and across the country. It also reached the Netherlands where it was known as "Engelsche Fortuyn". To most modern listeners, it is perhaps rather a dull melody—I have even heard my students describe it as 'truly depressing'—yet it clearly resonated remarkably in the ears of our forebears. It attracted the interest of composers and playwrights who presumably knew that their audiences would recognise both the tune itself and verbal allusions to it. It was also a musical mainstay of broadside balladry, and the expression 'Fortune my foe' entered common currency as a concise exclamation of despair. The tune was heard in marketplaces, alehouses and aristocratic homes, and it provided the soundtrack to numerous public executions.

This paper explores the reasons for "Fortune's" ear-catching success and considers the manner in which it moved around, connecting all sorts of people and all sorts of lyrics.[1] In particular, the culture of balladry will present an ideal field in which to investigate a particular species of intertextuality. Literary theorists have taught us that no text exists in isolation; instead, every work is framed by others. Every reading (or, in our case, listening) depends on prior codes and involves the reader in a personal transformation of the text. And no text is the creation of a single author in any simple sense because each composition registers the presence of many different voices.[2] Our task now is to

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1   I will concentrate on England. The tune's remarkable history in the Netherlands can be investigated at http://www.liederenbank.nl; 223 songs to the melody are cited [accessed: 25 July 2013].

2   See, for example: Kristeva J., *Desire in Language: a Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: 1980); Chandler D., *Semiotics: the Basics* (London: 2007), ch. 6; Chartier R., *The Order of Books* (Cambridge: 1994) 14.

add the mediating role of melody to the mix, and it is hoped that the travels of "Fortune my Foe" within and beyond English balladry will provide a stimulating case study.

The Appeal of Fortune

Many early modern tunes are, of course, lost to us. We owe the survival of "Fortune my Foe" to the decisions made by several sophisticated composers to adopt it as the basis for instrumental pieces. There are settings for lute, cittern, lyra-viol and virginals, and the celebrated musicians who felt drawn to the tune included John Dowland, Thomas Tomkins, William Byrd and Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. Lesser musicians also fell under "Fortune's" spell. In the Folger Library, Washington, a copy of *Musica Transalpina*, the famous collection of Elizabethan madrigals, contains a blank page in which a contemporary owner of the volume has written out the "Fortune" melody, untitled, in a rough and ready musical hand [Fig. 12.1]. Perhaps he grew tired of learning his complicated madrigal part and sought reassurance for a moment in the simplicity and familiarity of the period's favourite tune.[3]

Playwrights shared the perception of composers that references to "Fortune" were likely to please their listeners. In William D'Avenant's *Love and Honour* (1649), a woman is said to play the virginals so exquisitely that the character Altesto can 'wish no more of he[a]ven / Than once to hear her play *Fortune my Foe*'. His conversational partner responds with the observation that "Fortune" is one of the tunes that 'my old widow prisoner sings / With more division than a water work / When the maine pipe is halfe stopt'. In *The London Cockolds* (1682), a comedy by Edward Ravenscroft, Townly consoles the sexually frustrated Ramble with the line, 'in all your afflictions how truly maiest thou sing *Fortune my Foe*'. There are other instances in which the melody is not even named for the benefit of audiences but is instead sounded without words by an actor or musician. 'Joyless', a character in Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* (1638), demonstrates his joylessness at one point by whistling "Fortune my Foe". Later in the century, Aphra Behn's play, *The Roundheads* (1682)*,* included a scene in which a group of Royalists humiliate two former parliamentarians to the tune

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3 Instrumental versions are listed in Simpson C.M., *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick: 1966) 225–231; Byrd William, *Musica Transalpina* (London, Thomas East: 1588), Cantus part-book, Fiiiir, copy in Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C., STC 26094.
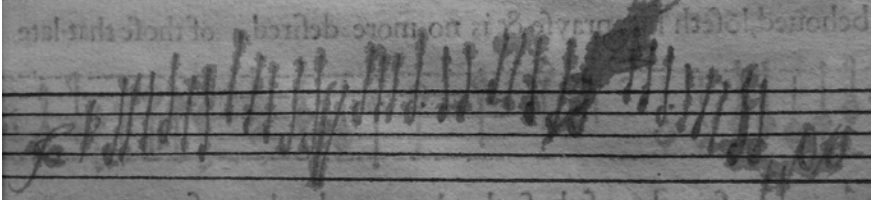
FIGURE 12.1   *Untitled version of the tune "Fortune my foe". Sketch onto a blank page in* Musica
                Transalpina (*London, Thomas East: 1588*)*, Cantus part-book, Fiiiir. Washington
                D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 26094.*
                IMAGE © FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY WASHINGTON D.C.

of "Fortune", forcing one of them to dance.[4] This is peculiar, for "Fortune" was
certainly not a dance tune and does not appear in any of the major collec-
tions of such melodies. A satirical purpose was surely at work here, though the
precise nature of its operation will only emerge towards the end of this paper
when we have come to know the melody a little more intimately.

  "Fortune" was best known not as a dance tune but as the most frequently
cited broadside ballad melody of the entire early modern period. Between eight
and nine thousand English ballads survive from the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries, representing a fraction of the original whole but a relatively impres-
sive sample nonetheless. These single-sheet publications were sold for roughly
a penny a piece and were clearly the early modern age's most ubiquitous form
of print and music. They were published in London, usually without the inclu-
sion of an author's name, and then distributed through the capital and the
country beyond by ballad-singers who performed them in public spaces, aim-
ing to draw a crowd before persuading its members to part with their pen-
nies. Consumers then carried the ballads away with them for reading, display
and, ideally, singing among friends [Fig. 12.2]. By the time the format matured
and settled in the early seventeenth century, a typical ballad carried a text of
12–20 verses, one or more simple woodcut illustrations and, just beneath the
title, the name of a suggested tune. The melodies were only very rarely notated
on the sheets, and the normal expectation was therefore that sellers and buy-
ers would learn the tunes if they did not know them already, and then apply
them to the predominantly black-letter texts. Ballads enjoyed or endured a

4   D'Avenant William, *Love and Honour* (London, Hum. Robinson and Hum. Moseley: 1649) 7;
    Ravenscroft Edward, *The London Cockolds* (London, Jos. Hindmarsh: 1682) 35; Brome Richard,
    The Antipodes (London, Francis Constable: 1638) G1r; Behn Aphra, *The Roundheads* (London,
    D. Brown and H. Rhodes: 1682) 56.

FIGURE 12.2 *John Smith (after Egbert van Heemskerck, London, c. 1706), Singers in a window. Mezzotint. London, British Museum, Prints and Drawings, 1855,0512.96.* IMAGE © THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

reputation as the songs of the streets, the music of the masses, and they were
often maligned by courtly commentators, yet individuals from the upper ranks
clearly consumed ballads for themselves and sometimes pasted hundreds
of them into bound volumes. For this complicated collecting habit, cultural
historians are profoundly grateful. Without the ballads preserved by men like
John Selden and Samuel Pepys, our knowledge of the genre would be sketchy
indeed. Ballads, when they were not collected, often ended up as linings for
pots, padding for the spines of books and even toilet paper.[5]

Surviving ballads designate approximately two thousand different tune
titles. Some of these are alternative names for the same melody, but Simpson
has estimated that there were around one thousand separate tunes. About half
of these were at some point recorded in musical notation by composers or
publishers of the period.[6] Attempts to count the citations and thus identify the
most successful tunes inevitably produce lists that are headed by "Fortune my
Foe", under one of its various names. I have so far counted 142 surviving ballad
sheets that designate the tune, a figure that places "Fortune" far ahead of its
nearest rival, "Chevy Chase". Some of the 142 "Fortune" ballads are duplicates
or different editions of the same text, but a remarkable 84 separate songs were
sung to this one tune. Once again, no other melody came close. I am currently
involved in a project that aims to identify the period's best-selling hundred bal-
lads. As the list begins to take shape, it is clear that approximately 10% of these
extremely successful songs were set to the "Fortune" melody. By any measure-
ment, therefore, this was an English super-tune.

The success of "Fortune" can be explained and explored in a number of ways.
In the first place, it had many of the characteristics associated with what musi-
cally-engaged psychologists call 'ear worms'. It may well have stuck particularly
fast in people's minds for the following reasons: it was only four lines long;
in compass, it extended to just seven pitches; it was dominated by repeated
notes and short steps rather than more ambitious jumps (34 of the tune's 38
notes are followed by a repeated note or by movement to an adjacent note); it
was repetitive, opening with a double rendition of the same line; it was strong
and simple in rhythm, and each line commenced with a motif made up of a
minim followed by two quarter notes; and it was unusual among ballad tunes
in featuring a relatively high proportion of half and whole notes [Fig. 12.3]. All
of these attributes have been identified by psychologists as characteristic of

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5   There are general discussions of English balladry in Watt Tessa, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety,
     1550–1640* (Cambridge: 1991) 11–127, and Marsh Christopher, *Music and Society in Early Modern
     England* (Cambridge: 2010) 225–327.

6   Simpson, *British Broadside Ballad* xv.

FIGURE 12.3   *The melody "Fortune my Foe" from Paris, Conservatoire, MS Rés. 1186, fol. 24, quoted by Claude Simpson*, The British Broadside Ballad and its Music (*New Brunswick: 1966) 227.*
TRANSCRIPT BY C. MARSH.

melodies that lodge easily in the mind.[7] We might add that the tune's metre was relatively unusual and therefore distinctive, suiting it to four-line verses with ten syllables per line. Simpson remarked on the tune's 'unusual melodic and rhythmic persistence' and it is certainly true that versions of "Fortune" in composed works tend to be significantly more similar to one another than is typically the case with other early-modern ballad tunes.[8] "Fortune"'s combination of distinctiveness, simplicity and singability helped to ensure that it achieved and maintained a prominent place within English musical culture.

The uncomplicated nature of the "Fortune" melody also made it highly adaptable, and this too helped to promote its widespread dissemination. It was simple enough to attract attention on the bustling London streets and some commentators associated "Fortune" with the common people in particular. In 1647, *Certain Elegant Poems* by the mischievous divine, Richard Corbet, included "A proper new Ballad, intituled the Fairies farewell, or God a mercy Will, to be sung, or whistled, to the tune of Medow Brow by the learned, by the unlearned to the tune of Fortune".[9] On the other hand, the elaborate instrumental divisions or variations on the tune set down by William Byrd and other courtly composers suggest that men and women from the highest ranks of society also found "Fortune" irresistible. It would of course be simplistic to regard the tune's ability to connect high and low society as evidence of an underlying cultural unity. Instead, we see and hear multiple acts of appropriation. Composers were not only picking up the tune instinctively but playing around with it, manipulating it, fitting it for courtly ears. They were elaborating

7   BBC Radio Four, 'Ear-worms', presented by Shaun Keaveny (23 October 2012); Levitin Daniel, *This is Your Brain on Music* (London: 2007) 155; Oliver Sacks, *Musicophilia. Tales of Music and the Brain* (London: 2007) 41–48.

8   Simpson, *British Broadside Ballad* 230.

9   Corbet Richard, *Certain Elegant Poems* (London, Andrew Crooke: 1647) 47.

and elevating the common melody, enabling their aristocratic listeners to feel that they were not 'of the street' at all but rather creatures of the decorated indoors, listening to lutes and lyra-viols instead of the boisterous bawling of the ballad-singer. "Fortune" attracted inventive composers because its simplicity allowed them considerable freedom of operation. In the renditions by Dowland, Byrd, Tomkins and Sweelinck, the skeleton of the tune is fleshed out and enhanced by the addition of elaborate runs, gap-filling, ornaments, syncopations, arpeggio figures, contrapuntal accompaniment, rhythmic inversions and unexpected accidentals. A sparse tune is rendered busy in the hands of these expert practitioners. In Carole Cerasi's recording of Tomkins's version of "Fortune" a 40-second tune is varied with such skill that the performer's fingers are at work for over seven minutes.[10] The tune allowed plenty of space for the musical imagination, yet its simplicity could also seem to some a drawback and a marker of baseness. In 1672, Matthew Locke criticised a system of tuning for the viol because it allegedly prevented the instrument from playing anything except 'such lean stuff as *Fortune my Foe*'.[11] Clearly, there was considerable traffic between high and low society, but it did not always flow freely.

The same observation can be applied to the practices of ballad collectors. It was a little embarrassing for sophisticated individuals to feel the pull of common street music, and so collectors made the ballads their own by some combination of trimming, ordering alphabetically or thematically, numbering, annotating and pasting into bound volumes. A street ballad that was contained and confined in this manner was no longer a street ballad, becoming instead the curious collectible of a cultured connoisseur. Significantly, it was shut up when not in view rather than displayed brazenly for all to see on the wall of some lowly alehouse. One ballad that used the "Fortune" melody and proved popular with collectors was "Save a thief from the Gallows, and he'l Hang thee if he can". Samuel Pepys's copy has been cut in half, numbered by hand and stuck into an album in a section full of other songs on comparable themes. In Volume III of the Roxburghe Collection, the same song has been pasted within the confines of a pre-existing decorative border and again numbered by the orderly editor.[12] These techniques of appropriation were the collector's equivalent of the composer's clever musical divisions and ornaments.

It might also be argued that "Fortune"'s success owed something to the fact that its essentially lugubrious mood accorded well with the fashion for melancholy that existed in early modern Europe, particularly in the decades between

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10   Cerasi Carole, *Tomkins: Barafostus Dreame* (Metronome MetCD 1049: 2007) track 16.

11   Locke Matthew, *Observations upon a Lute Book* (London, John Playford: 1672) 33.

12   *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. W.G. Day, 5 vols. (Woodbridge: 1987), vol. II, 196–197; British Library, C20F7–F10, Roxburghe Ballads, vol. III, 28–29.

1560 and 1640. In a famous work on the illness, first published in 1621, Robert Burton remarked 'few there are that feele not the smart of it'.[13] Of course, the performance of merry songs and tunes was regularly identified in the period as one of the 'pills' that could help individuals to overcome or at least manage melancholy, and several printed collections mentioned the affliction specifically. "Fortune" was probably not, however, a tune that could be relied upon to raise the spirits, and its value to the melancholic may have lain more in the opportunity it offered them to express and indulge their misery (indeed, one Dutch song to the melody opened with the word 'Meelankoely').[14] The tune is in the Dorian mode, a scale pattern characterised by 'sober slow-tim'd Not[e]s' that were conducive to 'sobriety, prudence, modesti and godlines'. It is no surprise, therefore, that the clergyman William Slatyer identified "Fortune" as one of the 'common, but solemne tunes' to which he encouraged his readers to sing metrical psalms in 1630.[15] It is indeed a predominantly serious tune, more glum than gleeful. The dominant rhythmic motif recalls the sober beating of a drum. The basic minim beat suggests that delivery was typically slow, and the sombre mode seems to leave little room for optimism.

Yet "Fortune" may not have been quite as miserable as all that. When the late Patrick Collinson examined Tessa Watt's outstanding Ph.D. thesis in 1988, he reportedly argued with her over the mood of this melody.[16] Watt considered "Fortune" morose but Collinson insisted that, in the hands of a composer such as William Byrd, it was actually quite a sprightly number. It seems to me that Watt was probably closer to the mark, though it can certainly be argued that the basic tune does present a few seconds of passing brightness in its third line. Here, "Fortune" reaches its high point and the implied harmonies are cheerier too, though the line is followed by another one in which the listener is pulled back down towards the gloomy key note. Perhaps the more energetic of Byrd's variations were an attempt to liberate the positive potential of the melody, or was the composer instead fashioning something lively from raw materials that were dismal and stodgy, thus demonstrating his capacity for artful invention and playfully subverting the expectations of his listeners? This is an interesting question, though not one that we can possibly answer with any assurance.

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13   Burton Robert, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, Henry Cripps: 1621) 70; see also Gowland Angus, "The Problem of Early Modern Melancholy", *Past and Present* 191, 1 (2006) 77–120.

14   http://www.liederenbank.nl (HsLdGA Ga1474 [c. 1590] 23r) [accessed: 25 July 2013].

15   Butler Charles, *The Principles of Musik* (London, John Haviland: 1636) 1; Slatyer William, *Psalmes, or Songs of Sion* (London, Robert Young: 1630), subtitle.

16   Personal information from both parties.

A Loving Tune: "Fortune" and Romance

Where ballad tunes were concerned, success tended to breed further success. Over many decades, "Fortune" was named as the melody for such a quantity of songs that it gathered a fascinating range of overlapping associations. By steadily accruing significance beyond itself, "Fortune" became a holder of meaning, rather than a mere vehicle for the texts, and this certainly helped to establish its reputation as one of the 'go to' melodies for all those involved in the composition of ballads. "Fortune" attached itself to three themes in particular and the rest of this paper will be devoted to a consideration of them. In the beginning, the tune carried an Elizabethan love-song entitled, "A Sweet Sonnet, wherein the Lover exclaimeth against Fortune for the loss of his Ladies favour, almost past hope to get again, and in the end receives a comfortable answer, and attains his desire". Surviving copies all date from the later seventeenth century, and we cannot therefore be certain of the ballad's original date. It seems to have originated in the 1560s and it was certainly well-established by 1589.[17] As the title suggests, the song is divided into two equal sections. In the first, a melancholic man bemoans the loss of his sweetheart, opening with lines that gave the tune its name:

> Fortune my foe, why dost thou frown on me
> And will thy favour never better be?
> Wilt thou I say, for ever breed my pain,
> And wilt thou not restore my joys again?

Fortune, the man complains, has stolen his love away, leaving him in a condition 'Far worse then [than] death'. In the second half of the song, his lady seeks to reassure him, insisting that he has not in fact lost her and urging him to pull himself together. She begins:

> Ah silly soul, art thou so sore afraid?
> Mourn not my dear nor be not so dismaid
> Fortune cannot withall her power and skill,
> Enforce my heart to think thee any ill.[18]

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17   Simpson, *British Broadside Ballad* 225.

18   Various editions of *A Sweet Sonnet* can be viewed on the database, 'English Broadside Ballads Online' (http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu). This is also the most accessible source for the rest of the ballads that I will be discussing in this paper. Where my text includes clear information on the title and date of ballads, it seems unnecessary to duplicate this in the footnotes and I would like to direct readers to the EBBA website where facsimiles

Overall, therefore, this is supposedly a happy song—'A Sweet Sonnet'—in which the relative optimism of the tune's third line penetrates the surrounding gloom. It was, however, the woeful wailing of the man's contribution that exerted the greatest influence over the melody's subsequent history (gloom has a habit of enveloping everything close to it). Most literary references to the song connect only with its first half. In several plays of the period, for example, characters sing the song or whistle the tune in order to indicate their dejectedness rather than to celebrate their return to happiness.[19] Similarly, a highly successful later ballad that imitated the original by redeploying its tune and reworking its romantic theme concentrated exclusively on the misery of the male. This was "The Young Mans A.B.C.", first published in the 1630s and featuring a desperate appeal to an allegedly unfeeling sweetheart. It contains several verbal echoes of the original song but in this later broadside there is no reassuring response from the woman in question.

Romance, therefore, was "Fortune"'s original theme, but it was not by any means the most important in statistical terms. In fact, only three out of eighty-four surviving ballads that use the tune were primarily romantic in their subject matter. The tune's association with troubled courtship clearly survived for one hundred years or more, but it was an association built on the impressive success of two particular songs—"A Sweet Sonnet" and "The Young Mans A.B.C."—rather than on a wider flowering of love-songs set to "Fortune". Despite the small number of titles, "Fortune"'s romantic resonance reached far and wide. In 1601, for example, a Yorkshire servant composed a libellous song to the tune of "Fortune" while ridiculing the sexual exploits of one of his master's enemies. It seems likely that the melancholic romance of the tune was a central feature of his satirical purpose.[20]

A Preaching Tune: "Fortune" and Morality

A very different case is encountered as we move on to consider the second of the tune's main areas of influence. From the late sixteenth century onwards, "Fortune" was also used for sober ballads on moral and religious themes. The initiator of this new trend, or perhaps merely the most influential early example, was "An Excellent Song, wherein you shall find, / Great consolation for a troubled mind" (c. 1619–1629), which opened with the lines:

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and transcripts of all my sources, together with detailed supporting information, can be found.

19   Anon, *The Maydes Metamorphosis* (London, Richard Olive: 1600) C3v.

20   Sisson C.J., *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge: 1936) 129–140.

> Aim not too High in things above they reach
> Nor be too wise within thy own conceit,
> As thou hast wealth and wit at will,
> So give him thanks that shall increase it still.

In this frequently reprinted song, we once again witness the interplay between misery and mercy that seems to have been one of the tune's defining characteristics. The title demonstrates that the song was designed to bring comfort to the spiritually anguished, and many lines within the text bear this out ('forgive offences ever past, / As thou thy self will be forgiven at last'). Reassuringly, the first of two woodcut pictures on later seventeenth-century editions shows a benevolent Christ in glory, riding in a cloud and flanked by cherubs. On the other hand, the tune leaves us in little doubt that this is a serious, weighty song with little time for frivolity. The text is presented in ABC format, each verse opening with a different letter of the alphabet, a device that accorded well with the didactic intent of the song. The verses contain as many warnings as they do moments of comfort ('Beware of pride, the Mother of mishap'; 'Keep thou no Cancar hidden in thy Heart'; 'Quench fond desires and pleasures of the flesh'). And the second picture is much more troubling than its partner. Three numbered skeletons are represented rising from their graves, presumably on the day of the general resurrection. They look very far from jubilant, however: number one appears terrified; number two is similarly troubled and also in flames; and number three seems to be tearing out what remains of his or her incongruous hair. This was obviously not an image that viewers can have found particularly uplifting, despite its theological theme. The song struck a chord, however, and it remained on sale for many decades. Its opening words, 'Aim not too high', also became established as the most common alternative name for the "Fortune" melody.

   In fact, the new title outstripped the old one during the seventeenth century. Overall, fifty-two of our eighty-four ballads named the tune "Aim Not Too High" rather than "Fortune my Foe". Furthermore, thirty-four of the fifty-two ballads set to "Aim Not Too High" presented texts with primarily moral and religious messages, suggesting that those involved in the composition of ballads tended to choose a tune-title that indicated by association the predominant theme of the song. In the wake of "An Excellent Song", many others followed on similar lines, rapidly establishing the morality/religion theme as the tune's most important sphere of operation. By 1660, one author had come to think of "Fortune" as 'that preaching tune'.[21] Many of the ballads that named the melody "Aim Not Too High" were, like "An Excellent Song", general moral and religious warnings,

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21   Anon, *Rump, or, An Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs* (London, Henry Brome and Henry Marsh: 1662) 56.

often including verses on the uncertainty of life and the urgent need for repentance. A representative example was "A Looking-Glass for all true Christians. Very useful and necessary for all people of what degree soever, to look upon in these troublesome times of sorrow" (c. 1681–1684). This ballad carried the same image of Christ in glory that appeared on "An Excellent Song", suggesting the intriguing possibility that pictures and tunes with distinctive associations sometimes moved in tandem between texts (this image also appears on several other ballads set to the "Fortune" tune under one or other of its names). The metaphor of the ballad as a looking-glass was also recurrent. Three other songs that named the tune were presented to potential customers as looking-glasses, for true Protestants, Christian families and maids respectively.[22] It is also notable that several of these moralising ballads generated additional names for the tunes as publishers linked new ballads to old ones, offering potential consumers a guide to content that doubled as a cheap advertising technique. In this manner, the "Fortune" melody was sometimes called "A Lesson for all True Christians", "A Letter for a Christian Family" or "The Godly Mans Instruction". In each case, the new tune's name was simply a transposition of an existing ballad title. And so it went on.

Other ballads to the tune of "Aim Not Too High" pursued the moral-religious theme not through general aphorisms but by presenting particular examples of God's judgement. Most of these case-studies were of the thunderbolt variety, carrying graphic but cumbersome titles such as:

> A Wonderfull Wonder, being a most strange and true relation of the resolute life, and miserable death of Thomas Miles, who did forsweare himself, and wished that God might shew some heavie example upon him, and so it came to passe for as he sate at his meate hee choked himself, and died in short space after, which hapned the 8 of August last, 1635, and being ript up by the chirurgions of S. Bartholmewes Hospitall, was found to have a gub of meate sticking fast in his throate, which was the cause of his death. Written to warne all rash swearers to forsake their evil ways, which God grant we may (c. 1634–1658).

The warnings contained in ballads of this sort were grim indeed and the melody's dominating sobriety held centre stage. Other songs in this category drew religious lessons from the burning of Cork city, a fire on London Bridge, the death of a disorderly apothecary, a terrible earthquake in Hereford, and an

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22   *A Looking-Glass for all True Protestants* (1679); *A Looking-Glass for a Christian Family* (c. 1683); *A Looking-Glass for Maids* (c. 1644–82). All available at http://ebba.english.ucsb .edu [accessed: 25 July 2013].

extraordinary storm of hail. Most followed a simple interpretative pattern in which news of brutal disasters inflicted by God was promoted as the motor of repentance ('Thunder, and Lightnings, to procure our feares' as the author of "A Wonderful Wonder" put it). When sung, these songs are generally some combination of distressing and depressing. Of course, there is always the prospect of eternal salvation for those who repent obediently and sincerely but the promise of delight ahead is normally drowned out by the reality of disaster behind. It is as if the tune's optimistic third line sounds in vain.

There were other ballads, however, that seemed to take inspiration from that third strain in order to spread much happier stories of providential intervention. As God punished the wicked, so he rewarded the just (though much less frequently if the ballads are a reliable guide). When one has sung one's way through a whole series of disaster ballads, these good news stories, set to the same tune, come as something of a surprise and the effect is more than a little curious. Take, for example, "The Kentish WONDER" (c. 1695–1703), which recounted the extraordinary story of a poor widow from Kent who was,

> by the Providence of the Almighty, miraculously preserved in her Necessity, so that she and seven small Children lived seven Weeks upon a burnt six-penny Loaf of Bread, and yet it never decreased, to the great wonder of all that hear it, and the Praise of the Almighty, who never forsakes them who put their trust in him.

The opening lines reiterate this optimistic message and form quite a contrast when compared with a typical verse from "A Wonderfull Wonder":

> You faithful Christians whereso'er you be,
> Trust still in God and you shall surely see,
> In faithful service he doth take delight,
> And you shall never be forsaken quite.
> ("The Kentish WONDER")
>
> But let them know that doe the Lord provoke
> By cursed oaths, on them to strike the stroke:
> Know that although he suffers them a space,
> He will at last confound their wicked race.
> ("A Wonderfull Wonder")

The same tune carries both texts, forming a link between the two sides of various polarities within the Christian message: goodness and evil, joy and despair, salvation and damnation. The associations of this tune were so strong that

listeners to tales of God's benevolence must have been wordlessly reminded of those other, darker tales of divine intervention. One 'wonder' was quite unlike another, and yet they were bound together by a melody.

In these moral and religious ballads, it is as if the human romance of the original song has been appropriated and redirected. The object of devotion is no longer the provocatively nonchalant maiden but instead the ever-vigilant Lord. To listeners who knew songs in both categories—and this surely included a vast majority of ballad consumers—the contrasting associations must have created an interesting subconscious interplay between different forms of love. The "Fortune" songs, whether romantic or religious, presented a related image of a loved one who held power over devotees and could be either sympathetic or harsh. In one case, moreover, the attempt to appropriate a secular song for godly purposes was much more explicit. In John Rhodes's book, *The Countrie Mans Comfort*, the author included 'A song against Fortune and those that have or doe defend the same, which may be sung, to the Tune of: Fortune my Foe, why dost thou frowne on me'. This was, in short, a critical response to the original romantic ballad and, more broadly, to the contemporary habit of personifying 'Fortune' as a god-like entity capable of influencing earthly events. The new song began, bluntly, with the lines:

> Fortune shall be no God nor guide of mine,
> Fortune to thee, nothing I will resign:
> Fortune thou art the heathens Queen and Princesse
> How should a Christian take thee for his Mistres.[23]

This, it seems, was a bold bid to render the original tune religious, and the subsequent stream of solidly godly ballads to the "Fortune" melody suggests either that Rhodes was successful or that he was surfing a cultural wave. By the early seventeenth century, the tune could mean subtly different things to different people and more than one thing to the same person.

A Hanging Tune: "Fortune" and Execution

To complicate matters further, the "Fortune" tune also operated very regularly within a third thematic area. In 1634, the Poet in Samuel Rowley's *The Noble Soldier* speaks fearfully of 'the Hanging Tune', and it seems certain that he is referring to "Fortune" which was, by this date, the melody chosen most frequently for ballads that featured the 'last dying speeches' of executed

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23   Rhodes John, *The Countrie Mans Comfort* (London, M. D[awson]: 1637) B8v–C1r.

criminals.[24] Twenty of the eighty-four surviving ballads that used the tune were in this category. Most of these songs gave the melody its original name, perhaps partly because the expression 'Fortune my foe' seemed to suit the lot of a condemned criminal even more poetically than the alternative, 'Aim not too high'. The tune first acquired its association with crime and punishment during the late sixteenth century. The vast majority of Elizabethan ballads are lost but we do know that in 1592 a licence was issued for the publication of "The Lamentacion of John Parker whoe for consenting to the murder of John Bruen was hanged in Smithfield the 28 of June 2 yeres after the fact was committed to the tune of *Fortune*".[25] This song has not survived though we have plentiful examples from the decades that followed. When Rowley referred to 'the Hanging Tune' in 1634, it is entirely possible that some of the following songs, all set to "Fortune" and recently published, were ringing in his ears:

> *Anne Wallens Lamentation, For the Murthering of her husband John Wallen a Turner in Cow-lane neere Smithfield; done by his owne wife on satterday the 22 of June 1616. Who was burnt in Smithfield the first of July following* (c. 1616).

> *The Godly End, and wofull lamentation of one John Stevens a youth that was hang'd, drawne, and quartered for high-treason, at Salisbury in Wilshire, upon Thursday being the seventh day of March last 1632. With the setting up of his quarters on the city gates* (c. 1633).

> *The Lamentation of Edward Bruton, and James Riley, who for the bloody murder committed on the bodies of Henry Howell, and his Wife, upon Queenes Downe, were executed and hanged in chaines, neere the same place on the 18 day of March, 1633* (c. 1633).

The stream of execution ballads set to this remarkable melody continued into the later seventeenth century, and Alexander Oldys clearly knew what he was talking about when, in 1682, he imagined the shame of being 'sung about the Streets in a Ballad to the tune of *Fortune my Foe*'.[26] "Fortune" had reigned supreme as the king of 'hanging tunes' for almost a century, and it only began to lose this status after 1683, displaced by a brand new melody called "Russell's Farewell".

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24   Rowley Samuel, *The Noble Soldier* (London, [John Beale]: 1634) D4v.

25   Simpson, *British Broadside Ballad* 225.

26   Oldys Alexander, *The Fair Extravagant, or, the Humorous Bride* (London, Charles Blount: 1682) 82.

A notably successful crime ballad to the tune of "Fortune" was "The Sorrowfull Complaint of Mistris Page for causing her husband to be murthered for love of George Strangwidg, who were executed together". This dealt with a sensational case that took place in Plymouth in 1589–1590, and we can assume that the first edition of the ballad was issued shortly afterwards. The earliest surviving version, however, is a transcript in the *Shirburn Ballads*, dating from the first years of the seventeenth century.[27] Further editions were printed in c. 1609 and c. 1635, and it is clear that "The sorrowfull complaint" was usually issued on a sheet with two other songs, "The Lamentation of Mr. Pages" Wife and "The Lamentation of George Strangwidge", both of which used the same tune and dealt with the same sensational murder. In some editions, the date of the case was altered in order to make the songs seem more topical for listeners and readers. Taken together, they present an interesting and reasonably representative example of ballads in this category. Eulalia Page confesses to having organised the murder of her husband in alliance with her sweetheart, George Strangwidge. She expresses repentance, willingness to die and confidence that God will forgive her. She also makes it plain, however, that her greedy and oppressive parents are to blame for forcing her to marry the wealthy but unlovable Master Page. Strangwidge sings the same tune (literally) and accepts his share of the guilt. He repents the deed done but cannot relinquish his love for the radiant Mrs. Page. He is prepared to die with her, and manuscript records from Devon reveal that he did just that. The lovers were executed together in March 1589–1590, along with two hired assassins, and their burials are recorded in local parish registers.[28]

It is particularly interesting to consider the role of the tune in carrying the messages of these ballads into the minds of contemporary listeners. Audiences in the 1590s would have connected the "Fortune" melody particularly with the original love song. The opening lines of Mrs. Page's "Lamentation" seem to nod towards its predecessor: 'Unhappy she whom Fortune hath forlorne, / Despis'd of grace, that proffer'd grace did scorn'. Beyond this, the tune must have added considerable resonance to the declarations of love made by both condemned parties. Eulalia addresses George directly:

> And thou my Dear which for my fault must Dye,
> Be not afraid the sting of Death to try:
> Like as we liv'd and lov'd together true,
> So both at once let's bid the World adieu.

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27   *The Shirburn Ballads*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford: 1907) 111.

28   For details, see *Shirburn Ballads* 109.

And George responds in kind:

> Farewel my love, whose loyal heart was seen,
> I would thou hadst not half so constant been:
> Farewel my Love, the pride of plimouth Town,
> Farewel the Flower whose beauty is cut down.

It is noticeable, however, that the Page texts share only a limited quantity of verbal material with the earlier love song. Where rhymes are common to both songs, they seem thoroughly unexceptional and probably insignificant ('me' and 'be', for example). Shared rhymes are rather more likely to occur within each broadside than between them. In "A Sweet Sonnet", there are eight internally repeated rhymes and in the Page songs rhymes recur on ten occasions. It is thus apparent that the intertwining of the two broadsides is primarily grounded in the sharing of a well-known and heavily resonant tune rather than in a striking series of precise verbal allusions. In order to experience the effect, listeners did not need to recall the precise words of the original song; instead, they merely had to remember its mood and its central theme.

As the decades passed, moralising songs that usually named the tune "Aim Not Too High" became steadily more prevalent. This development meant that listeners, hearing the familiar tune to which the Page ballads were sung, probably began to understand them not only in relation to the old love-song but also in the light of publications such as "An Excellent Song". Even now, those who sing to themselves a series of songs in both categories will find that the different texts, connected by their tune, seem to echo or haunt one another. The singer or listener experiences, through often unconscious memory and association, not one but several songs simultaneously. The text that is being performed holds the limelight, but the tune encourages other lyrics, remembered and half-remembered, to gather in the background, jostling for attention. Of course, the connection was particularly easy to make because, in one sense, the execution ballads were a sub-set of the moral and religious songs. They too attempted to urge repentance through the dissemination of sensational examples but they focused particularly on gory crime and state-sponsored punishment. In the Page ballads, there are several verses in which one is reminded of the preaching voice that characterised the more general of the moral and religious ballads. Eulalia takes a moment, for example, to warn adults against forcing their daughters into loveless marriages:

> You Parents fond that greedy minded be,
> And seek to graft upon the Golden tree:
> Consider well, and rightful judges be,
> And give your Doom, 'twixt parents love & me.

The stern tone of other ballads is here echoed, though Eulalia's actual message might be regarded as a critique of warnings to family members heard elsewhere. Typically, moralising ballads set to our tune included verses that targeted the young for disobeying or disrespecting their parents. In the best-selling "Letter for a Christian Family", for example, a firm rebuke is delivered to the youth of England:

> And some will curse their parents to their face,
> Methinks to them it is a foul disgrace,
> But 'tis forbidden in the Laws of God,
> Therefore let's serve him all with one accord.

Eulalia Page, singing to the same tune, grasps the opportunity to point out that sometimes the fault lies on the other side of the parent-child relationship.

Through the tune, moralising ballads inhabited execution ballads but the interaction could work the other way too. Those who listened to "A Letter to a Christian Family" must have been well aware of the melody's association with crime and punishment. The presence of the 'hanging tune' is menacing and adds new depth to the series of moral warnings that constitute the text. Those who do not pay heed will, according to the tune, face dire consequences. This is a song with a noose attached and a deadly drop threatened:

> The sin of pride we see doth so excel,
> In men and women now the truth to tell:
> And for that sin we read that Satan fell,
> From an high Angel to a Devil in Hell.

"Fortune" and Other Themes

Love, morality and execution were, then, the chief subjects associated with the tune of "Fortune". This thematic trio did not, however, encompass all of the ballads sung to the tune, and it is important to mention some of the songs that seemed to sit between or beyond these principal categories. The tune also seems to have established a relationship with songs on supernatural subjects. This began with "The Judgement of God shewed upon one John Faustus", first issued during the 1580s, and continued into the next century with occasional "Fortune" ballads on the deeds of witches and ghosts.[29] These songs can be

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29   See, for example, *Witchcraft Discovered and Punished* (1682). Other examples, not available on the EBBA website, include *The Disturbed Ghost* (London, Philip Brooksby: 1672–1696) and *A Miraculous Cure for Witchcraft* (London, n.p.: c. 1670).

regarded as occupying the ground between the 'judgement' ballads and the execution ballads, but they also seem to have endowed the tune with an additional other-worldly *frisson*. "Fortune" was also named from time to time on ballads that simply told sensational and tragic stories but without the explicit moral or religious reflection contained in the tune's more didactic songs. A very successful and long-lived example was "The Lamentable and Tragical History of Titus Andronicus". In this immensely bloody ballad, the moralising is concentrated wholly in the last line: 'And so God send all Murtherers may be serv'd'.

A very different case is presented by "The Honest Plaine Dealing Porter: Who once was a rich man, but now tis his lot, / To prove that need will make the old wife trot". This was composed by the immensely witty Martin Parker and probably published at some point in the 1630s. Unfortunately, we cannot be absolutely certain that the designated tune, "The Maids A.B.C." was "Fortune" by yet another name, but it is certainly our best guess.[30] If "Fortune" is indeed the tune, then this seems to be an intriguing and unusual example of a skilful and knowing composer drawing on the associations of a famous tune for humorous effect.[31] When the text is read in silence, the ballad appears to be a conventional and conservative piece in which the poor and lowly are advised by one of their own to know their place and stick to it without demur. The proverbial refrain line—'Thus need will make the old wife trot'—seems clumsy and rustic but seriously intended. When the sombre tune is added, however, its connections with sad love, heavy moralising and public execution surely reveal this as a piece of satire. Parker was reportedly an alehouse-keeper and yet his humble, happy porter is fiercely critical of those who sit drinking all day. He much prefers to 'rise at four i' th morne, / And labour hard till nine at night' before returning home for a meagre but marvellous meal with his (trotting) wife. It seems likely that this song was designed for convivial performance in a tavern and that the 'honest plaine dealing Porter' was not only an example of the humble-but-happy worker of literary convention but a spoof upon him:

> I trudge abroad be it cold or hot,
> Thus need will make the old wife trot.

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30   The most likely source of this tune title was the ballad, "The Virgins ABC" (c. 1624–1680), which was sung to "The Young Man's A.B.C.", another name for "Fortune my Foe". It is, as ever, difficult to establish the precise sequence in which seventeenth-century ballads were published.

31   For comparable examples of satirical usage, see above, p. 317, and below, p. 328.

The porter's words are upbeat but the doleful tune sounds his doom. Of course, the song may have been interpreted more literally by some listeners but I doubt that this was the dominant interpretation in the crowded alehouse of its author.

Conclusions

In the richly associational world of early modern balladry, many songs echoed others and complex threads of mutual influence criss-crossed the genre. A great deal of material was constantly recycled and reassembled in shifting configurations. Themes, expressions, characters and pictures all moved around between songs, but melodies were perhaps the cross-pollinators of this art-form *par excellence*. The redeployment of existing tunes was a deeply-rooted habit and it ensured that the multi-layered and variable significance of any song had a prominent musical aspect. The better-known the tune, the denser was its web of associations, and no melody was more active a presence within early modern balladry than "Fortune my Foe". By c. 1620 it had acquired the capacity to call to mind thoughts of love and/or godly morality and/or capital punishment. The tune was heavy and unchanging, yet its movements within English culture were light and lively. "Fortune" was a stable tune but in its ability to fly freely from place to place it also contributed continuously to the potential instability of meaning. Each listener brought different past experiences to a rendition, and so every hearing was unique and personal. Frequently, the contrasts between the interpretations made by individual listeners must have been subtle but there was nothing to prevent the existence of more radical differences. Those who attended to a sober moral song must have responded differently depending on whether their most memorable prior exposure had been to "Fortune" as a love-tune or "Fortune" as a melody of the gallows. In the unlikely event that they had never heard the tune before, their response would have been different again. Of course, our information on actual listening experiences is depressingly meagre, and so we have little option but to speculate, imagine and experiment for ourselves.

In doing so, we can draw reassurance from two trends within recent writing on early modern culture and on music more generally. First, Foucault and others have demonstrated that the Renaissance world was full of powerful resemblances. Nothing existed alone and everything reflected or echoed something else. Associational habits of mind were thus firmly embedded and it can be argued that the identification of interconnections between different

songs was something that came instinctively to people.[32] Second, research into musical cognition has established that these associational thought-processes are, to a significant degree, hard-wired into us. There are, of course, cultural differences—modern pop music does not typically apply old tunes to new texts— but there is no escaping the human brain's habit of forming links between different musical events. The cognitive processing of music involves the automatic storing of data, the learning of the musical grammar particular to one's culture, the creation of mental templates or schemas against which new or repetitive musical experiences can be assessed, the generation of expectations based upon one's developing knowledge and consequently the experience of emotion (which, in music, is closely related to the fulfilment or particularly the frustration of expectation). Every region of the brain is involved and most of us—without even thinking about it—have become advanced listeners by the time we start school![33] The human brain collects, dissects and connects; it must have had a field day when it was set to work on early modern ballads. Historians and literary scholars have tended to concentrate on the texts of ballads, but it is clear that to early modern minds the words were just one aspect of a complex product that stimulated the ears as well as the eyes.

We return, finally, to the poor parliamentarians who were mocked by their enemies to the tune of "Fortune" in Aphra Behn's play, *The Roundheads* (1682). Claude Simpson noted the reference in his monumental research aid, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, but he seemed to overlook the likelihood that this was in fact a dark melodic joke. Behn first sets a scene that is perfect for the introduction of musical banter. Triumphant Royalists surround a bonfire in 1660, overjoyed that the hated Rump Parliament is at last at an end. As many audience members must surely have remembered, the months preceding the Restoration of Charles II had witnessed an explosion of Royalist balladry. At the time, the diarist Thomas Rugg had remarked that one song, "The Rump Dock't", had been 'almost in everybodys mouth' and the period's most famous printed collection of loyal ballads was entitled *The Rump* (1660).[34]

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32   Foucault M., *The Order of Things* (London: 1970) 67–71. See also: Alexander G., "The Elizabethan Lyric as Contrafactum: Robert Sidney's 'French Tune' Identified", *Music and Letters* 84 (2003) 378–402; Bellany A., "Singing Libel in Early Stuart England: the Case of the Staines Fiddlers, 1627", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69, 1 (2006) 177–193; Marsh C., "The Sound of Print in Early Modern England: the Broadside Ballad as Song", in Crick J. – Walsham A. (eds.), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700* (Cambridge: 2004) 171–190, and *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: 2010) 10–14, 44–48, 288–289.

33   There is a lively summary of recent findings in Levitin, *This is Your Brain on Music*.

34   Simpson, *British Broadside Ballad* 229; *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg, 1659–1661*, ed. W.L. Sachse, *Camden 3d Series* 111 (1961) 30; Anon, *Rump, or, An Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs*.

So prominent was Royalist balladry on London's streets at this date that the first of Behn's two frightened parliament men disguises himself as a ballad-singer in the hope of throwing his opponents off the scent. The tactic fails and he is captured by raucous Royalists who carry him in triumph around the bon-fire. One of the revellers calls out to a nearby fiddler, 'Play Fortune my Foe, Sirrah'. To the sober strains of this tune, a second parliamentarian is appre-hended and commanded to dance.[35] This, surely, is a kind of wordless wit. The tune may have worked on a number of levels. Most obviously, the Royalists were threatening their captives with execution by sounding out 'the hanging tune', a melody that was also used for a ballad about the beheading of Charles I in 1649. Beyond this, audience members may also have found humour in the tune's associations with moral instruction (parliamentarians deserved to be taught a lesson) and, more ironically, with romance (a connection that is also implied by the urge to make the victims dance). Fundamentally, the incident was funny because the tune was being used simultaneously for a purpose that suited its associations well—to threaten execution and urge repentance—and for a secondary purpose to which it was clearly inappropriate—dancing. The sober mood of the tune might alone have been sufficient to render this juxtaposition amusing but the effect must have been significantly enhanced by audience awareness of the long and varied history of this extraordinarily successful tune. Perhaps it was a dull melody at heart, yet it transcended its dullness by carrying several different meanings at once. It spoke of romance, religion and retribution and because it did all this simultaneously and without words it could also, on occasion, make people laugh.

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35   Behn, *The Roundheads* 56.

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Samuel Pepys and the Making of Ballad Publics

Patricia Fumerton

Introduction

Drawing especially on the everyday details about the circulation of broadside ballads as narrated in Samuel Pepys's diary, 1660–1669, this essay explores the making of ballad publics in seventeenth-century England. By 'publics' I refer to unofficial and free forms of association based on a shared, if sometimes only roughly articulated agenda, before the rise around 1700 of what has been come to be known as the Habermasian 'public sphere'. As Leslie B. Cormack summarizes, we must think of pre-Habermasian publics not along his model of a strictly unified (male) middle class engaged in political critique of its aristocracy but, in a less constrained way: as 'a loose collection of people, not all of whom have personal knowledge of one another, connected by a common interest in a particular subject and with some social or political goal in mind'.[1] By virtue of their being publics, not *the* public, I would add, such informal assemblages are multiple and always in the making (meaning that they can emerge and die out in an organic way). They are also capable of being stronger or weaker depending on the particular persons or circumstances or time periods involved. With this liberal definition in mind, my essay will track the

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1 Cormack L.B., "Forms of Nationhood and Forms of Publics: Geography and its Publics in Early Modern England", in Yachnin P. and Eberhart M. (eds.), *Forms of Association: Making Publics in Early Modern Europe* (Amherst, MA: 2015) 164. Also included in this edition is my essay, "Collectors, Consumers, and the Making of a Seventeenth-Century English Ballad Public: From Networks to Spheres". The current paper is a significant revisiting of, and expansion upon, the second half of that article. For more on publics in the plural, see the Making Publics project headquartered at McGill University, which ran from 2000–2005, http://makingpublics.mcgill.ca/. Comack and myself as well as other UCSB graduate students and faculty, including the late Richard Helgerson participated in MaPs; see especially my introduction, "Making Printing Publics", to the journal issue, *Printing Publics: A special issue dedicated to the memory of Richard Helgerson*, ed. P. Fumerton, Issue 8, *Early Modern Culture: An Electronic Seminar*, emc.eserver.org/1–8/issue8.html [accessed: 1 September 2010). For extensive examples of seventeenth-century broadside ballads that formed the subject of ballad publics, see especially the English Broadside Ballad Archive, or EBBA, ebba.english.ucsb.edu, of which I am director.

making of multiple seventeenth-century English ballad publics that emerge out a shared cultural understanding across classes of the nature and function of broadside ballads. It concludes with the idea that a ballad public—or pluralistically conceived, ballad publics—consists of encircling spheres wherein strength lies closest to the centre but can also arise and decrease anywhere, in any encircling sphere, on the spur of the moment.

From Private Collector to Public Consumer

Samuel Pepys is an especially strong focal point for this paper because he was not only an avid collector of broadside ballads but also an eager participant in their circulation. As collector of ballads, he focused on the ornamental black-letter broadside ballads of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, which he saw as facing decline in favor of cheaper white-letter (or what we today call 'roman') broadside ballads, with few or little pictures.[2] Others of Pepys's generation were also especially interested in collecting black-letter broadside ballads, including Anthony Wood, John Bagford, and Robert Harley. To the extent that this collecting network knew of each other through correspondence and intermediaries and had a scholarly and social agenda—the preservation of the black-letter broadside ballad and even recording the history of black-letter print—they can be seen to aspire to a public. But their interactions with each other were relatively weak (lacking, as far as I have found, sustained affective reciprocity). By this gauge, if we might feel unsure about the 'publicness' of this collecting network, we can with more confidence identify a ballad public of *consumers* actively engaged with each other, as evidenced by Pepys himself via numerous entries in his diary, 1660–1669.[3]

As Pepys's *Diary* clearly shows, what makes Pepys stand out in his ballad collecting network and what makes him representative of the culture of broadside

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2   See Pepys's handwritten title page to his five-volume collection, http://ebba.english.ucsb .edu/ballad/32621/image. Also see my article, "Collectors, Consumers, and the Making of a Seventeenth-Century English Ballad Publics".

3   All citations to Pepys's diary will be hereafter to the published edition, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham – W. Matthews, 11 vols. (Berkeley: 1995), and will hereafter appear cited in the body of my paper by volume and page, separated by a period (as is EBBA practice with all multi-volume ballad collections). Note that Pepys used the Old Style Julian calendar (retained in Britain until 1752) versus the New Style Gregorian calendar adopted by most countries in 1582. This makes his dating in the diary ten days behind those of the rest of Western Europe (*Diary* vol. 1, cli–clii).

ballads of his time is his intense participation—aesthetically, socially, and politically—within the larger forum of mass-marketed ballad consumerism. It is precisely in this larger ballad market, in the interactive dissemination and consumption of ballads, that we find a ballad public in the making. This consuming ballad public may not share the same scholarly values as the serious ballad collectors of black-letter scriptural and printed ballads, but its members reflexively used ballads to private, social, and political ends, relying on shared public expectations about what broadside ballads are and can be. They knew that broadside ballads were not only or even primarily for cutting and pasting into collectors' album books or piling into 'heaps' by antiquarians. We hear of contemporaries actively gathering around, exchanging, singing, or reading out loud broadside ballads, as well as pasting them up for all (or for just a select few) to see. They appreciated the broadside ballad's multiple media—art, text, and song (as exemplified in Fig. 13.1 and 13.2). They recognized that each component part of the ballad was assembled on the printed sheet in a collage-like fashion and could often split off separately and morph as the diverse parts of the ballad traversed from one sheet to the next. They also valued white-letter ballads printed in roman type, without or—as in Fig. 13.3—with musical notation, the latter of which was often cribbed from fashionable songbooks (e.g., Fig. 13.4). These white-letter ballads also often tackled political subjects (e.g., Fig. 13.5). As stated above, Pepys himself saw such unornamented white-letter ballads as marking the decline of the heyday of the decorated black-letter broadside ballad even as they came to dominate the later seventeenth century. But he still included white-letter ballads in the fifth volume of his ballad collection, just as contemporaries still greedily purchased them. As ballads were disseminated in the millions and shouted from street corners or peddled at local gathering places—markets, alehouses, executions, etc.—consumers heard any and every topic for the picking, from traditional, age-old stores stories of Chevy Chase or Robin Hood to more pressing topical issues of domestic debates and gender disputes, recent wonders, in-the-talk news, current politics, the latest fashion, etc. Pepys's unique table of contents to his five-volume ballad collection (Fig. 13.6) communicates a sense of the wide range of topics ballads addressed (listed in the left-hand column of the contents page). But it wasn't only the diversity of topics that made broadside ballads attractive to Pepys and his contemporary consumers. It was the way the topics could be variously formatted and delivered. Consumers heard debate and answer ballads, and ballads issued by the same printer that took opposite sides of an issue—all in an effort to reach the widest market of consumers. The products also lent themselves to being multifariously used, voiced, and viewed—by seller and buyer alike.

FIGURE 13.1   *T. Platte, "Anne Wallens Lamentation, For the Murthering of her husband John Wallen a Turner in Cow-lane neere Smithfield . . ." (London, Henry Gosson: 1616). Pepys 1.124–125, EBBA 20053, ballad sheet facsimile. Post-photographic processing by EBBA.*

IMAGE © PEPYS LIBRARY, MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Circulating in complex reflexive and nuanced ways, such cultural artifacts were formative of an expansive, multi-valenced, and organic ballad public. The interests of this large interactive public cannot be as specifically pinned down as those of a ballad collecting network. A big and dynamic ballad public is protean, like the broadside ballad itself. In this sense, one might more accurately speak of ballad publics than *a* ballad public. But I hold to the singular because, at any point in their varied employment of ballads, most participants shared a common familiarity and interest in popular ballad forms and topics as well as their potential personal, social and political uses.

I recall, in its simplest interpretation of such interplay, Michael Warner's discussion in his book *Publics and Counterpublics* of the 'talk value' built up around multifarious vocalizations of the widely popular catchphrase 'Whassup?'. First

FIGURE 13.2   *A.? Behn, "The Loves of Jockey and Jenny: Or, The Scotch Wedding" (London, n.p.: 1682?). Pepys 4.110, EBBA 21774, ballad sheet facsimile. Post-photographic processing by EBBA.*
IMAGE © PEPYS LIBRARY, MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

marketed in the United States by Budweiser during a televised Monday Night Football game, December 20, 1999, the ad became an instant sensation, and was reissued internationally in a myriad of different versions. 'Talk value', notes Warner, discussing these popular Whassup ads, 'allows a structured but mobile interplay between the reflexivity of publics (the talk) and the reflexivity of capital (the value).' He adds, 'In contemporary mass culture, the play between these different ways of rendering the field of circulation reflexive has created countless nuances for the performance of subjectivity.'[4] Mass produced ballads created their own market reflexivity and complex inter-articulation with public reflexivity that made for innumerable nuances of what was—by virtue of the social circulation of ballads—a collective performativity. It was this collective, performative ballad public, widely ranging in its manifestations, in which Pepys avidly participated.

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4   Warner M., *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: 2002) 101, 102.

Jockey and Jenney:

OR,

The SCOTCH COURTSHIP.

To a pleasant new Scotch Tune, Sung in the Play of *The Three Dukes of* Dunstable.
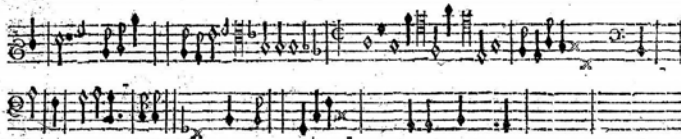
JENNY gin you can Love,
  and are resolv'd to try me ;
Silly Scruples remove ,
  and do no longer deny me ,
By thy bonny Black Eyes ,
  I sware none other can move me ;
Therefore if you deny,
  you never never did love me.

Jockey how can you mistake,
  that knows fullwell when you woo me,
How my poor Heart do's ake,   (me
  and throbs, as it would come through
How can you be my Friend,
  when as you are bent to my Ruine ,
All the Love you pretend,
  is only for my undoing.

Who can tell with what Art
  this Canting nothing, call'd Honour,
Charms my *Jenny's* soft heart ,
  whilst Love and *Jockey* had won her.
'Tis a Toy in the head ,
  and muckle woe there's about it ;
Yet I'd rather be dead,
  than live in scandal without it.

But if you'll love me, and wed,
  and guard my Honour from harms too,
Jockey I'll take to my Bed,
  and fold him close in my Arms too :
Talk not of Wedding, fair Sweet,
  for I must have Charms that are softer,
I'm of the Northernly breed,
  and never shall love thee well after.

Except you will yield to wed,
  I cannot believe you love me,
And all that you yet have said,
  dear *Jockey*, will never move me,
You love not as you pretend,
  the Arguments still you are urging,
Designs no more, in the end,
  but to betray a poor Virgin.

Although you tickle my knees,
  my Maiden-head still I'll save it,
On such foolish Terms as these,
  my *Jockey*, you never must have it ;
But if you're willing to wed,
  I never will marry another,
My *Jockey* shall come to my Bed,
  where we will pleasure each other.

But if I should yield to your Will,
  I'm sure you would soon deceive me,
Your evil Desires you'd fill,
  and after you quickly would leave me,
And if I should chance to teem,
  by kissing and hugging together,
And get a Bearn in my Wem,
  O where should I find out the Father.

Jenny you need not fear,
  I only desire to try you ;
As true as poor *Jockey* is here,
  to marry he'll ne'er deny you ;
I therefore I am willing to Bed,
  and if thou wilt gang to morrow,
Unto a gend Kirk, and be Wed,
  we'll both bid adieu to all Sorrow.

Printed for J. *Conyers* at the Black Raven in *Holborn*.

FIGURE 13.3   *Anon, "Jockey and Jenney: Or, The Scotch Courtship" (London, n.p.: 1675–1700?).*
              Pepys 5.35, EBBA *22253, ballad sheet facsimile. Post-photographic processing*
              by EBBA.
              IMAGE © PEPYS LIBRARY, MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

FIGURE 13.4   *Page from songbook,* The Newest Collection of the Choicest Songs as they are sung at court, theatre, musick-schools, balls &c.: with musical notes *(London, T. Haly, for D. Brown and T. Benskin: 1683), adopting and abbreviating the "Jockey and Jenney" broadside ballad, in white letter with musical notation, Sig. B4r (right page).* Harvard University, Houghton Library, 25353.11.
IMAGE © HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Gendered Publics

On April 11 and April 17, 1661, as recorded in his diary, Pepys sang at a local tavern a bawdy ballad with Captain John Allen (Clerk of the Ropeyard in Chatham), and the second time, he 'did get of him the song that pleased me so well there the other day' (2.78). The song took the form of a medley, one of the forms mass marketed by ballad printers and publishers in the seventeenth century. It consisted of proverbs and catchphrases often taken from other ballads. Significantly, the first time Pepys refers to the ballad it is by the catchphrase in

LONDON's JOY:

OR,

ENGLAND's Happiness

In the safe Return of Our

Royal Monarch King William.

From the

Country of *FLANDERS*, to his Royal Court and Kingdom.

Licensed according to Order.   To the Tune of, *The Guinney wins her.*

King *William*, Heaven's Bless him,
  he's safe return'd from *Flanders*,
With Loyalty Addrels him,
  the Head of chief Commanders;
His very Enemies will own,
That the like of him was never known,
  A right Heroic Soul,
  Then fill the flowing Bowl,
  A Bumper to the King,
  While Bells in Triumph Ring,
  And Subjects sweetly Sing
This strain, King *William* is return'd again.

Tho'f Persons disaffected,
  may seem to Frown and Lower,
That he is still protected
  by so Divine a Power,
But yet their Frowns are all in vain,
For Great *William* is return'd again,
  In Triumph to the Shore,
  O, bid him welcome o'er,
  With pleasant Peals of Joy;
  He did of late Annoy
  Proud *France*, who would Destroy
This Land, if they could get the upper-hand.

Proud *France* begins to Fear him,
  and so does *Teague* and *Tory*,
Who did not dare come near him;
  King *William* gains the Glory,
For *Luxemburgh* cry'd out, *Begar,*
If we Fight the English Guns will Tear
  Our Troops of armed Men,
  And prove our Ruin then.
  This said, in Camp they lay,
  And dar'd not to Display
  Their Flags in Battel-ray,   [bring.
But our King, does to the Nation Triumph

He fears no foreign Strangers,
  but like a Heroe ventures
His Life in midst of Dangers;
  the field of War he enters,
Where often peals of Cannons roar,
Britain ne'er had such a King before,
  Then let his Health go round,
  While Drums and Trumpets sound,
  Since with his Royal Train,
  He plow'd the Ocean Main,
  And is return'd again   [Throne.
To his own, sweet Partner in the Royal

In Triumph, State, and Grandure,
  Dukes, Lords, and Commons meet him,
Their King and Faith's Defender,
  where Subjects like they greet him;
So sweetly did the Music play,
For to Celebrate the joyful day
  Of his return to shore,
  While *Tower* Guns did roar,
  And Subjects wishing he
  Might still Victorious be,
  With lasting Dignity,   [Throne.
For none, did ever like him Grace the

When *Romish* Superstition,
  and cruel Usurpation,
Took Wings of Expedition
  to overflow the Nation,
Those Enemies he chas'd away,
And pursues them to this very day;
  Therefore let Joy appear,
  As he returns each Year,
  In Triumph to the Town,
  Let Lorels of Renown
  His Royal Temples Crown,   [Throne.
For none, did ever like him Grace the

London : Printed for *E. Tracy*, at the *Three Bibles* on *London-bridge*.

FIGURE 13.5   *Anon, "London's Joy: Or, England's Happiness . . ."* (*London, E.* [*Ebenezer*]
           Tracy: 1689). *Pepys 5.39,* EBBA *22257, ballad sheet facsimile. Post-photographic*
           processing by EBBA.
           IMAGE © PEPYS LIBRARY, MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

FIGURE 13.6   *Table of contents to Pepys's five-volume ballad collection. EBBA 31620, ballad
sheet facsimile. Post-photographic processing by EBBA.*
IMAGE © PEPYS LIBRARY, MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

the last line of the fourth stanza: 'Goe and bee hanged; that's twice god b'w'y'
(2.72); it is printed below from an extant 1656 version of the ballad:[5]

> Though her disdainfulnesse my heart hath clove [divided in two],
> Yet I am of so stately a minde,
> Nere to creep into her arse to bake in her oven
> 'Tis an old Proverbe, that cat will to kinde;
> No, I will say untill I die,
> *Farewel and be hanged, that's twice god buy* [*goodbye*].
> (my emphasis and gloss)

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5   Titled simply "Song", in *Wit and Drollery* (London, Nath[aniel] Brook: 1656; reprinted 1661).

The second time Pepys sings the ballad, however, he calls it by the catchphrase in the third line of its third stanza: 'Shitten come Shits the beginning of love' (2.78):

> What though my love as white as a Dove is?
> Yet you would say if you knew all within,
> *That shitten come shites, the beginning of Love is*;
> And for her favour I care not a pin;
> No love of mine she ere shall be
> Sirreverence of your company.
> ['Sirreverence': 'with due respect' but also 'human excrement', *O.E.D.*]
> (my emphasis and gloss)

That the title to this ballad keeps changing in Pepys's mind is not a sign of early dementia but rather that the ballad itself is a composite of 'Whassup?'-like catchphrases, each of which, at any moment, depending on the context of the singing or recollecting, might be the one Pepys most recollects. In each case, Pepys and Allen 'took great pleasure' (2.72) in turning the ballad market in popular consumer phrases into a reflexive moment performative of middle-class male bonding, in which clearly a larger male public, familiar with such catchphrases, could also take part. The song especially boosts male egos by rechaneling frustrated sexual desire. It begins sweetly, 'I Prethee sweet heart grant me my desire', but in the face of sexual *denial*, it turns swiftly into a nasty misogynistic litany of filthy gendered insults. Such literally and metaphorically shitty rallying of manhood binds tightly together what were class-wise only loosely connected middling male sorts: the ropeyard clerk, Allen, and Pepys, in his more elevated status of Clerk of the Acts to the Navy Board.

Ironically, however, Pepys later purchased and included in his ballad collection a broadside version of this ballad that is inclusive of women (Fig. 13.7). It gives women a counter voice within the context of proverbial male damning. Titled "[The] Youngmans careless Wooing, And the Witty Maids Replication; All done out of old English Proverbs" (to the now lost tune "Mars and Venus"), the ballad follows a popular 'answer' format. The defiled woman answers the man with insulting proverbs tit for tat, accusing him of being false with a whore: 'Thou may'st go follow thy sweatheart to Norwich / she is a Lass that's fit for your Tooth, / A sluts good enough to make Slovens Porridge' (in this last, proverbial line, a 'sloven' is 'a person of low character or manners; a knave [or] rascal' *O.E.D.*). The maid concludes firmly and confidently, 'And this shall be my last reply / Go walk up out Knave what care I'. The defiled woman gets the last word and insultingly rejects *the man*. Women unite! Ballad 'whassups' can be

FIGURE 13.7   *Anon, "[The] Youngmans careless Wooing, And the Witty Maids Replication; All done out of old English Proverbs" (London, P. Brooksby: 1685–1688). Pepys 3.130, EBBA 21140, ballad sheet facsimile. Post-photographic processing by EBBA.*
IMAGE © PEPYS LIBRARY, MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

turned totally around with the right version of the song in hand together with a knowing and willing speaker/singer and audience.

Privately Gendered Publics

Pepys showed his own command of turning ballad 'answers' and popular gender topics to his own performative purposes, sometimes to create a very private-public between knowing ballad aficionados. At a dinner party at Lord William Brouncker's on January 2, 1666, for instance, he meets the actress Elizabeth Knepp, who sings for the group the ballad "Barbara Allen".[6] Unfortunately, a seventeenth-century version of the modern tune is not extant. But Pepys says he experiences 'perfect pleasure … to hear her sing, and especially her little

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6   Most versions of the ballad tell of a young man dying from unrequited love for the maiden Barbara Allen. She is called to his deathbed, but all she says to him is 'Young man, I think you're dying'. She moreover laughs at his corpse going to burial. But when the youth dies, she is stricken with remorse and follows him to death soon after.

Scotch song' (7.1). And so begins an infatuation that becomes a flirtation and sexual dalliance facilitated through personally performing ballad characters. Three days later, on January 5, 1666, Pepys travels to Greenwich to another dinner party, hoping to 'get' Mrs. Knepp, but she was busy. What did she offer as substitute for her presence? She sent Pepys 'a pleasant letter, writing her [that is, signed by her] *Barbary Allen*' (7.4). The next day at a 'great dinner' at Greenwich with 'much company', Pepys again missed getting Knepp, and was especially frustrated because he had 'wrote a letter to her in the morning, calling myself *Dapper Dicky* in answer to hers of *Barb. Allen*' (7.5). 'Dapper Dicky' is the title of another Scottish ballad in which a girl laments her lover's absence (7.5n3). What are Pepys and Knepp doing? They are self-consciously inhabiting a ballad public that allows one to voice roles and play with them to one's own personal but still potentially public ends, since anyone seeing these letters or hearing Knepp and Pepys adopt these ballad personae would know exactly what the two were about. They made an intimate ballad public of lamentable love turned to sexual courting.

Political Publics: Making a National Voice

I now turn to a very different social occasion that revisits the performance of male bonding, here laden with more class and political valence. It also allows us to study more deeply how tunes can play a defining part in making ballad publics. The date is April 23, 1660, and we are on board the flagship, the *Naseby*, commanded by Lord Edward Montagu. Also aboard the ship is Samuel Pepys, newly elevated from Montagu's clerk to his secretary, and Will Howe, a more junior clerk in Montagu's service. They are about to embark on the momentous expedition to bring back Charles Stuart from Holland to be crowned King Charles II of England. In an evening of 'extraordinary good sport' aboard the ship, Pepys reports, Montagu calls for Pepys and Howe to play their instruments, and then 'he fell to singing of a song made upon the Rump, with which he pleased himself well—to the tune of *The Blacksmith*' (1.114).

    This ballad singing by Montagu, while seemingly an inconsequential part of the general shipboard 'sport', marks a moment of high reflexive performativity on Montagu's part, which Pepys and Howe and others most likely joined in, given the participatory nature of ballad singing. The ballad sung would certainly have been *anti*-Rump.[7] The Presbyterian Rump was first created in

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7   Though the exact title is not named by Pepys, it could be any of the hundreds, if not thousands, of such ballads that were being disseminated in dizzying numbers especially in 1559–1661, both singly as broadsides and in collections such as [Brome A.] (ed.), *The Rump, or*

1648 when Colonel Thomas Pride, acting for the New Model Army, purged the Long Parliament of all members who resisted deposing Charles I. In the course of the subsequent commonwealth period, the Rump became internally divided, increasingly ineffectual, repeatedly dismissed and reinstated, and much-vilified. Royalist and then more general attacks on the Rump invoke crude comparisons to buttocks productive only of smelly farts and turds.[8] Montagu heartily voiced such sentiments in singing his anti-Rump ballad aboard the *Naseby*, en route to restore the king and recognize, as he confidentially tells Pepys, 'the affection of the people and the City' (1.77). Joining in the expression of the now overwhelming contempt for the republican parliament through song would have been deeply meaningful especially for Pepys and Montagu. Both had been active supporters of Cromwell's commonwealth. The anti-Rump song belies that alliance, performing instead a spontaneous open voicing of cross-class (if male gendered) and political solidarity with both 'the people' *and* the monarchy. All aboard ship—commander, servants, and common seamen—who sing or simply listen to such singing become part of the momentary making of a political public in which they are all workers voicing the trade of the nationalist and royalist cause.

Private Political Publics

Politics are not always so transparent in the singing of ballads, however. In another, very different social occasion, at a large dinner party hosted by Lord Brouncker on January 2, 1665, Pepys turns popular knowledge of ballad content into an 'in' joke among those present which could also be interpreted as a more nuanced personal and political jab. Pepys brings along a broadside ballad to the party and is most pleased with its reception, saying 'I occasioned much mirth with a ballet I brought with me, made from the seamen at sea to their ladies in town—saying Sir W. Penn, Sir G. Ascue, and Sir J. Lawson made them' (6.2). It is unclear whether the 'much mirth' at the party here ensues

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A Collection of Songs and Ballads, made upon those who would be a Parliament, and were but the Rump of an House of Commons, five times dissolv'd (London, H. Brome and H. Marsh: 1660).

8 A picture captures a thousand words: on February 7, 1660, when the republican naval commander, Sir John Lawson, decided to join forces with Monck to restore the Rump, but when there was still no clear understanding that free elections would follow, Pepys describes 'a picture hung up at the Exchange, of a great pair of buttocks shitting of a turd into Lawsons mouth, and over it was writ "The thanks of the house"'. Pepys adds, 'Boys do now cry "Kiss my Parliament", instead of Kiss my arse', so great and general a contempt is the Rump come to among all men, good and bad' (1.45).

from the ballad itself or from Pepys's tongue-in-cheek naming of its authors as Sir William Penn, Sir George Ascue, and Sir John Lawson—all prominent naval commanders.[9] The actual author of the ballad, as most at the dinner party would have known, was Charles Sackville, later Sixth Earl of Dorset, a well-known court and satiric wit. The ballad by Sackville would likely have stirred up much interest, being a new ware; it was entered in the Stationers' Register just three days earlier. It was entitled 'The Noble seamans complaint to the Ladies at Land, to ye tune of Shakerley Hay' (6.2n1), and is extant in later printings, as is the tune.[10] The ballad gently parodies the many ballads about common seamen departing from, returning to, or writing from sea to their lady loves on land. Sackville has raised the seamen's status to 'noble' but also makes them a tad dim-witted as they complain about how difficult it is to write not only because of 'our empty brain' (l. 9) but the rough seas, which make writing literally hard (l. 10–13)! The joking could be interpreted as all in good fun, and in no way pointed. Certainly all those to whom Pepys attributes authorship of this ballad (including its actual author Sackville) had been at sea with the fleet in November 1664, and their return was declared publicly a 'victory'. However, in his diary entry of December 3, 1664, Pepys questions how much of a victory could really be claimed, since the Dutch were at the time harbor-bound due to contrary winds (5.336).[11] Particularly unsettling at this historical moment is line 4 of stanza 5:

> Should foggy Opdam chance to know
> Our sad and dismal story,
> The Dutch would scorn so weak a foe,
> *And quit their fort at Goree*;
> For what resistance can they find
> From men who've left their hearts behind?—
> With a fa, la, la, la la!
> (my emphasis)

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9   *Diary* vol. 10, 312–313, 14, 229. Lord William Brouncker, 2nd Viscount and host of the party, was himself Navy Commissioner (vol. 10, 46–47).

10   Registered December 30, 1664; Rollins H.E., *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-entries (1557–1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (Hatboro, PA: 1967) 170, entry #1960. The editors of the *Diary* mistakenly give the last word in the registered title as 'London'. The text I cite is from *Wit and Mirth* (London, John Young: 1714), available online at http://rpo.library.utoronto.ca/poems/song-written-sea [accessed: 18 December 2012].

11   See also Pepys's letter to Sandwich, quoted in *Diary* vol. 5, 336 n. 4.

Opdam was a Dutch Admiral, and references to the Dutch are scattered throughout the song.[12] But the mention of fort Gorée was most current for January 1665. On October 24, 1664 the Dutch had captured Gorée and proceeded to seize back all their other holdings on the West Coast of Africa that had a year earlier been lost to the English. On December 22, 1664, news of the disaster had reached London, and Pepys writes in disgust of the 'cowardice' of the British fleet, which despite having a major presence in the area, surrendered the fort of Gorée with little resistance. ''Tis hard to say whether this news be received with more anger or shame', he concludes, 'but there is reason enough for both'.[13] So Pepys's clearly made-up attribution of the ballad's authorship in bringing this particular Sackville ballad to a dinner party filled with naval officers in January 1665, just eleven days after hearing of such disastrous naval losses, could be a veiled insult: 'what are you naval commanders doing writing about love at sea when you are being humiliated by the Dutch?' But the song is so light in tone that any intended insult, though likely perceived by some with a wink and a nod, could also be most assuredly ignored or denied.

Self-Fashioning Political Ballad Publics—and Pepysian Resistance

Pepys participates with self-reflective resistance in the making of an even broader ballad public, this time with serious political stakes. On March 5, 1667,

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12   Both Matthew Prior and Samuel Johnson assume the ballad was written in 1665 due to the 'Foggy Opdam' reference (Lieutenant-Admiral Jacob van Wassenaer Obdam was commander of the Dutch fleet at the Battle of Lowestoft, June 13, 1665, in which action he died); see Prior M., Dedication, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, Jacob Tonson: 1718), A3v, and Johnson S., entry on Dorset in vol. 4 of his 10 vols. *Prefaces, Biographical and Critical to the Works of English Poets* (London, C. Bathurst, J. Buckland, W. Stahan, et al.: 1779) 4–5 (the entry for each historical figure is numbered separately in each volume). But, as Norman Ault points out, 'it is now generally supposed that Dorset wrote it while serving under the Duke of York in his first cruise in November 1664; when the Dutch avoided an action by retiring into port; and *not*, as Prior says on "the night before the engagement" with the Dutch, in June 1665'; Ault N. (ed.), *Seventeenth Century Lyrics from the Original Texts* (London: 1928), note on p. 438 for p. 335. Ault provides the earliest manuscript version of the ballad in his edition (though it is missing the fa, la, la, la la! refrain) 334–335. Supporting Ault's dating is Harris B., *The Poems of Charles Sackville, Sixth Earl of Dorset* (New York – London: 1979) 65, though there is no evidence in the diary to support Harris's claim that Pepys was 'slightly inebriated' in offering Sackville's ballad and the false authorship as merriment at the party.

13   In a letter to Lord Montague, now Earl of Sandwich, in *Further Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, 1662–1679*, ed. J.R. Tanner, vol. 1 of 3 vols. (London: 1929) 34. See also *Diary* vol. 5, 352–353.

Pepys travels alone by water reading what he describes as 'a ridiculous ballad made in praise of the Duke of Albemarle, to the tune of *St. George*'. He adds, 'the tune being printed too' (meaning that the musical notation for the ballad, not just the tune title was printed on the sheet) (8.99). An extant version of the ballad—in white letter with musical notation—is titled "[An Heroical Song] On the Worthy and Valiant Exploits of our Noble Lord General George Duke of Albemarle . . . Made in August, 1666" (Fig. 13.8). The title's date of August 1666, during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, is most telling. George Monck, now First Duke of Albemarle, was at that time co-commander (with Prince Rupert) of England's fleet. The famously drawn-out Four Days naval battle of the war, June 1–4, 1666—at times resembling a confusing '*melée*'—ended with major English loses, and accusations of 'great bad management' on the part of the commanders-in-chief.[14] Pepys is especially critical of Albemarle, noting that 'it seems the Duke did give way again and again' (7.147).[15] The subsequent engagement, known as St. James's Day Battle, July 25, 1666 (August 4 on the Dutch Gregorian calendar) ended more clearly in English victory; however, the English failed decisively to cripple the Dutch fleet, and there was murmuring against the conduct of the pursuit. Clearly to bolster public opinion in its favor, on August 6th, 1666, the Crown proclaimed a day of thanksgiving for the late 'victory' at sea over the Dutch.[16] The laudatory ballad of Albemarle partakes of and bolsters such a national self-congratulatory celebration.

The Albemarle ballad particularly fits the making of a large-scale, national public because it remakes the much-cherished ballad story of an already established national hero by the same first name as Albemarle: George, patron saint of England. The last three lines of each eight-line stanza in the earliest extant St. George broadside ballad of 1612 (Pepys 1.87; EBBA 20041) provide a variation upon the refrain 'Saint *George*, Saint *George* the Dragon made to flee; / S. *George* for *England*, S. *Dennis* is for *France*, / Sing *Hony soit qui mal panse*' (literally, 'Shame upon him who thinks evil upon it'). The French phrase concluding each stanza became the motto of England's most distinguished chivalric fraternity, the Order of the Garter, dedicated to St. George. In the Albemarlian reworking of the ballad, sung to the same melody, the text is at first subtly reworked. In the Albemarlian refrain, *Saint* George becomes '*Lord* George' and, we are told, '*Lord* George *was born in* England, / *Restored his Countryes Joy, / Come let us sing* Vive le Roy'. The Albemarle ballad goes on, in its second

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14   Comment by Sir George Carteret, reported by Pepys (*Diary* vol. 7, 143).

15   See also the Companion to the *Diary* vol. 10, 115.

16   The celebration was held on Thanksgiving Day (August 15, 1666) in London and on August 23rd in the provinces; *Diary* vol. 7, 245 n. 1.

FIGURE 13.8 *Anon, "[An Heroical Song] On the Worthy and Valiant Exploits of our Noble Lord General George Duke of Albemarle, Etc. Both by Land and Sea. Made in August, 1666" (London, W. Godbid: 1667). London, British Library, Luttrell Collection I.101.*

column of stanzas, more dramatically to rework the text of the St. George ballad. Beginning at the top with 'Of many brave Exploits do ancient Stories tell, / But Sea-fights such as ours with *Dutch* yet none could parallel', the stanzas in this second column list the many unparalleled—and highly inflated—victories by Albemarle in his naval battles against the Dutch.

The Albemarle broadside ballad that Pepys reads could well be the very same edition as the only extant copy that is in the British Library, since the imprint at the bottom right of the surviving copy gives the date of 1667, and Pepys reports reading it in 1667, not in the ballad's title year of 1666. There is good reason to reissue the ballad a year later. The navy was under increasing scrutiny from Parliament and the City for its performance in the war as well as its inability to properly equip and pay its seamen (which was leading to a general build-up of public discontent with the war). Remarketing the unparalleled successes of one of the war's most famous naval commanders could be most financially and nationally profitable.

Though fueling the trade in aggrandizing Albemarle and his naval victories by apparently buying the broadside, Pepys does not buy into the message the ballad sold. He frequently derides Monck as a 'heavy', 'dull' man and, put bluntly, a 'blockhead'. Not only does he call the ballad 'ridiculous', but he suspects political machinations in its making: 'I observe that people have some great encouragement to make ballads of him of this kind; there are so many, that hereafter will sound like *Guy of Warwicke*' (8.99)—invoking another much-beloved English hero of ballad tradition. Who exactly are 'the people' making and encouraging these ballads remains unclear, but likely the Crown and Albemarle were behind them. Pepys is fully aware that the broadside ballad—as a single sheet easily printed off for mass distribution—could with ease be turned to political posturing. He is also more than aware that the public could be persuaded to think about Albemarle as a national hero by exploiting the form and content of previous popular ballad texts and tunes, such as those of St. George. And, most maddeningly, he saw people literally and metaphorically buying what the ballad sold: George Monck raised to the grandiose status of another patron saint of England. Pepys often expresses surprise at the esteem in which Albemarle is held, even in the face of concerted forces of criticism: 'the blockhead Albemarle hath strange luck to be beloved', he grumbles. Ballads likely played a significant part in such 'luck'.

Conclusion: Ballad Publics/Public Spheres

With this instance of large-scale marketing intended to make a ballad public that will 'buy into' Albemarle's feat—as into the 'Whassup?' marketing by

Budweiser—I want to conclude by proposing that we consider the making of a broadside ballad public (indeed, of any public) in terms of the nesting of public spheres, from the more intense or strong at the center to the less invested or weak at the margins.[17] Center stage are the important 'makers'— not so much the mostly anonymous 'authors' or the occasional sponsors like those of Albemarle as the major printers and publishers or booksellers of ballads and their allies, such as hawkers in the trade; next invested are the avid purchasers of ballads, such as Pepys; then the minor printers and publishers and time-to-time buyers of ballads; and on the outskirts of the ballad public are the occasional producers and peddlers as well as the occasional listeners/viewers/readers/singers (many of them too poor to be able to afford a ballad). Here on the margins might also stand those who passingly reference ballads in historical or fictional texts (such as Shakespeare in *The Winter's Tale* or Jonson in *Bartholomew Fair*).

The advantage of envisaging such a spheres model of the making of a ballad public is that we can clearly see that publics have a core of strength and an outside that is weaker. Of course, any group constituting all or part of an encircling sphere within the whole might become positioned slightly askew of this neat model of circles within circles if its interests become too specialized.[18] Ballad collectors who share Pepys's collecting priorities can be seen to participate in and help generate a larger ballad public, but they can also be seen to have an 'eccentric' agenda (documentation and preservation of black-letter script/print) that is relatively small-based and outside the mass-market of ballad

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17   What might at first seem an unlikely model for conceptualizing this making of ballad publics or, throwing our tent more broadly, a ballad public is Clifford Geertz's groundbreaking vision of the Balinese cockfight. Geertz essentially envisions the cockfight of Bali in terms of encircling spheres of a culture-making public that affirms social status. At the center of the cockfight ring are the leaders of Bali who lovingly nurture their cocks as if they were an extension of themselves, as well as their allies, who together form coalitions of bettors. Occupying the ring just outside these central fighters are individuals who occasionally fight their own cocks in small matches, might make bets on the big ones, and are still very much invested in the outcome of the 'battle'. Beyond these are the petty bettors who do not fight cocks themselves but still publicly take sides at the fight. Encircled further out, on the fringe of the cockfight, are the socially marginal and poor, who are far less invested in the specific fights but take part in assorted sheer-chance gambling at encircling concession booths, as in a small fair. So too with the making of a broadside ballad public, we can image a kind of Balinesian nesting of public spheres, from the more intense or strong at the center to the less invested or weak at the margins. Geertz C., "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight", in: idem, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: 1973) 412–453; 435; see also 432 n. 18.

18   See my "Collectors, Consumers" article, in Yachnin P. (ed.), *Forms of Association*.

consumerism. To the extent that they constituted a small network with little dissemination—however 'open' they might have been to interested strangers—these collectors do not participate within a larger ballad public. So too, one might argue, Pepys and Knepp veer off from a larger sphere of ballad consumers in adopting their very personal 'secret' game of playing Barbara Allen and Dapper Dicky.

As we have also seen in Pepys's diary, hot spots can flare up at any moment and at any position in this spheric model. Certain printers or publishers can become very influential, a coalition of sorts might form between collectors of ballads, and occasional makers might suddenly produce lots of ballads on a single subject, as in the mobilizing of ballads in praise of Albemarle. We see similar dramatic hot spots form in *The Winter's Tale* around Autolycus at the sheep-shearing feast, and even more intensely in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, where again layers of an onion of intensity of investment circle around the ballad-singer, Nightingale, and his cutpurse partner, Edgworth.[19] Jonson always scathingly put down ballads, as did most of the aspiring laureates of his time. But like Pepys and so many of his contemporaries, Jonson also knew precisely how the ballad market worked and how it could be performatively worked upon by individuals with a collective goal in mind. Improvising upon the reflexive 'Whassup?' of ballad formats, topics, and tunes, marketers and consumers performatively played with the 'talk value' of ballads variously to commercial, personal, social, and/or political ends, in the process forming—if only passingly and momentarily—a collective ballad public.

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19   Shakespeare W., *The Winter's Tale*, ed. F. Kermode, 2nd ed. (New York: 1998) 4.4.220–327; Jonson B., *Bartholomew Fair*, ed. E.A. Horsman (London: 1960) 3.5.11–194.

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Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838

Anne Marieke van der Wal

Music is often regarded as an important medium for performing a cultural identity. Whereas music is not so much a reflection of the shared ideas and desires of one particular group, it is a way for individuals to align themselves with and act out a certain cultural identity.[1] As such, the study of musical production and reception in a historical context offers scholars an exciting view on identity formation in the past. Particularly music in a colonial setting offers us an intriguing perspective on the role of music as a medium through which a cultural identity can be performed. In the colonial setting music can be studied to investigate on the one hand the scope and effect of cultural imperialism and the politics of culture, and on the other the persistence of Diaspora music cultures or the development of hybrid music cultures. The colonial context thus offers us the chance to examine the process of musical borrowing and adaptation and the ways in which such musical developments were used to create, negotiate and advocate a collective aesthetic and perhaps ethical consciousness, in other words a cultural identity.

The Cape Colony and specifically Cape Town as the port-town of this colony at the most southern tip of the African continent, harboured such a multicultural community with a wide range of musical styles and diatonic scales. Often referred to as the 'tavern of two oceans', Cape Town in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century was a place where people and cultures of East and West met and mingled. One could find Dutch East India Company (hereafter: 'The Company') officials from the Netherlands, sailors from Scandinavia, soldiers from Germany, settlers from France and Great Britain, slaves from Mozambique, Madagascar, Indonesia, India and Sri Lanka, and of course the original inhabitants of the Cape, the Khoisan. Social status and cultural

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1 Simon Frith has argued that music does not express the cultural identity of a group, rather that a group finds and understands their identity through performance. He states: 'Making music isn't a way of expressing ideas, it is a way of living them'. Frith S., "Music & Identity", in Hall S. – Du Gay P. (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: 1996) 111.

identity was important in such a multicultural colonial town and was empha-sised in various ways, music being one such medium through which status and identity could be performed and displayed in a colonial society.[2]

I am specifically interested in the place occupied by slave music and slave musicians in the Cape Colony. The resident slave community, brought to the Cape by the Company from Indian Ocean coastal regions in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, lived and worked in close contact with European set-tlers. This led them to voluntarily and involuntarily adopt some European cul-tural practices as well as languages. Music formed an important part of this cultural transfer, as slaves were expected to sing for the entertainment of their masters, thereby learning European folk songs and music genres in their mas-ters' homes. Moreover, since this slave community was denied most rudimen-tary rights to personal development and expression, music and song offered one of the few opportunities for slaves to create and perform a sense of self.

In his influential work *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Paul Gilroy argues that investigating music in colonial and Diaspora studies is important because 'music unseats language and textuality as pre-eminent expressions of human consciousness'.[3] He states:

> Examining the place of music in the black Atlantic world means survey-ing the self-understanding articulated by the musicians who have made it, […] and the social relations which have produced and reproduced the unique expressive culture in which music comprises a central and even foundational element.[4]

Gilroy's approach to the Black Trans-Atlantic world, I argue, is valuable for investigating the formation of cultural identities and social status at the Cape of Good Hope. The development of musical production and reception within this slave community presents a clear case study of the confrontation of dif-ferent music cultures and the process of merging cultures and communities (creolisation) at the Cape of Good Hope in the late eighteenth and early nine-teenth centuries.[5] This article will focus on the role of music in this colonial

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2   Wilson K., *The Island Race. Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London – New York: 2003) 3. Quoted in Worden N. (ed.), *Cape Town Between East and West. Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town* (Hilversum: 2012) xii.

3   Gilroy P., *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge Mass.: 1993) 74.

4   Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* 74–75.

5   Between 1750 and 1850, the Cape Colony witnessed major political and social change. The Cape Colony, founded by the Dutch in 1652, was occupied by the British during the

society as a cultural indicator of status and identity. I will address both the European as well as the Diaspora musical influences at the Cape and aim to answer the question what role music played in creating, negotiating and advocating a cultural identity.

Slave Orchestras and High Culture at the Cape of Good Hope

From studies focusing on the colonial world in the Americas we know that slaves were often employed as musicians, providing entertainment for their masters.[6] It seems a similar situation existed at the Cape. Numerous accounts of visiting travellers to the Cape as well as memoirs of settlers inform us about so-called slave orchestras, assigned to entertain their masters. For instance in 1781 Francois Le Vaillant, a French naturalist and zoological collector travelling through the Cape Colony, witnessed how his host for the night, Hendrik Cloete Senior, owner of the Groot Constantia estate, was awakend in the mornings by a band of fifteen slaves playing for him and his wife.[7] Similarly in 1803 Commissary-General of the Cape Jacob Abraham de Mist and his travel companion Heinrich Lichtenstein reported having been musically entertained by a slave orchestra while resting for a day on the farm of a settler family in the countryside.[8] Visitors to the Cape Colony were often surprised to find, that 'at a nod the cook exchanges his saucepan for a flute, the groom quits his

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Napoleonic wars, from 1795 till 1802, after which Dutch control over the colony was briefly restored. Only four years later, in 1806, the British again annexed the colony to the British Empire, however this time it remained under direct British rule until the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. In 1834 slavery was abolished in the Cape Colony. However, the emancipation was not completed until 1838, as freed slaves were expected to work for their former masters as 'apprentices' for four more years. In those tumultuous times, social rank and cultural status became more important than ever. To understand the colonial culture of the Cape, it is important to investigate what role music played in advocating a cultural identity in the colonial social hierarchy.

6 Examples of studies on the music culture of the slaves in the Americas are: Epstein D.J., *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals. Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (Champaign, IL: 1977); Abrahams R.D., *Singing the Master. The Emergence of African American Culture in the Plantation South* (New York: 1992); Southern E., *The Music of Black Americans. A History* (New York: 1997).

7 Vailliant Francois Le, *Travels from the Cape of Good Hope into the interior parts of Africa: including many interesting anecdotes; with elegant plates, descriptive of the country and inhabitants*, transl. E. Helme (London: William Lane, 1790).

8 Godee Molsbergen E.C., *Reizen in Zuid Afrika in Hollandse* Tijd, vol. 2*, Tochten naar het Noorden 1686–1806* (The Hague: 1916) 172.

curry-comb and takes his violin and the gardener throwing aside his spade sits down to his violoncello'.[9]

Eighteenth-century Cape Town was still a small and modest European settlement. Its role was that of an outpost in the larger and much more profitable Dutch trading empire, whose centres were in Amsterdam and Batavia. Cape Town's society was nothing compared to the grandeur and high society lifestyle that travellers could find in larger Indian Ocean ports like Batavia.[10] 'They have no kind of public amusements', writes a visitor to the Cape in 1797, 'except occasional balls; nor is there much social intercourse but by family parties, which usually consist of card playing or dancing'.[11] The home orchestras, consisting mainly of slave musicians, were thus precious possessions for the settlers at the Cape as they were virtually the only form of entertainment available, so much so that musical skills were occasionally required when slaves were purchased. For instance, a European settler by the name of Joachim von Dessin bought on the 30th of April 1756 an enslaved individual named Jason van Madagascar (Jason from Madagascar). Von Dessin was quite content with his purchase, as he says in his memoirs, because besides being a good cook 'he can also play the flute, hautboy and French horn'.[12]

In the Cape Colony those slave orchestras were also used by Company officials and successful settlers to display their wealth and good taste by hosting grand parties where slave musicians performed. Studying the musical life in French colonial Martinique, ethnomusicologist Dominique Cyrille notes that 'during the slavery era, music became a potent social marker in the complex system of social classification initiated by the French planters'. 'Music', she says, 'signalled racial origins, social status, and level of education'.[13] Similarly, in the small European colony at the Cape, social status was in part performed through music. The Company elite accentuated their status through public rituals and grand displays of wealth and refinement. Thus, 'the Governor gave

9   Lichtenstein H., *Travels in Southern Africa, in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806* (London: 1812) 28.

10   Ross R. – Schrikker A., "The VOC Official Elite", in Worden N. (ed.), *Cape Town Between East and West. Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town* (Hilversum: 2012) 35.

11   Barrow J., *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797–1798* (London: 1801) 48.

12   Cape Archive, Aanwinste A1414 (56) (c) J.N. von Dessin, *Memoriaal van mijne huiselijke uitgaven en verrigtingen*, 1 January 1754–December 1757. I am much obliged to Dr. Katie Mooney for referring me to this source. Original text in Dutch: 'ook kan denselven op de fluijt, hobooij en waldhoorn speelen'.

13   Cyrille D., "Popular Music and Martinican-Creole Identity", *Black Music Research Journal* 22, 1 (2002) 67.

sumptuous dinners and balls, particularly when important visitors, notably returning Governors-General, called at the Cape'.[14]

In most colonial societies, public entertainment was aimed at supporting and confirming the status of the colonial elite and the European culture to which it adhered. Not only Dutch officials used music to display their social status: the British equally used music to define and perform their social status. For example Lady Anne Barnard, wife of the first British Colonial Secretary of the Cape, habitually invited the upper class of the colonial community for house parties during which her guests could 'talk or hop to half a dozen black fiddlers'.[15] Similarly, Dutch settler Pieter van Breda, owner of the Oranjezicht estate, was known to regularly invite the colonial social elite to enjoy his home orchestra. As the account states: 'a music tent stood in one of the gardens of his estate. When Mr van Breda was to have his slaves play music there, he raised the flag so that music lovers in the city knew that they were welcome at Oranjezicht'.[16] The musical performances conducted by these larger slave bands were naturally impressive and customarily shared with neighbours, friends or high-ranked officials. As such, orchestra performances became a way for settlers to display their wealth and success and to emphasize their (European) cultural identity.

But what was the social status of the slave musicians forming those slave orchestras? In colonial Martinique 'music became a symbol of power and social elevation for slave or Creole musicians'.[17] By learning and performing the music of the politically and culturally dominant group in colonial society, these musicians managed to obtain a higher status themselves. For the Cape Colony, we do not have any evidence that supports the idea that a similar situation existed. We do know that regardless of their social position, the supposed natural musical aptness of the slave musicians at the Cape was much admired. Heinrich Lichtenstein noted that the slave musicians he encountered at the Cape 'all play entirely by the ear. This practice receives great encouragement from the natural inclination that the slaves, particularly the Malays, have to music'.[18] Christian Ignatius Latrobe, a missionary visiting the Cape in 1815 and 1816, described the non-European community at the Cape as a 'smooth

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14   Ross – Schrikker, "The VOC Official Elite", 35.

15   Wilkins W.H., *South Africa A Century Ago. Letters written from the Cape of Good Hope by Lady Anne Barnard (1797–1801)* (London: 1910) 60.

16   Martin D.C., Coon Carnival. New Year in Cape Town, Past and Present (Cape Town: 1999) 59.

17   Cyrille, "Martinican-Creole Identity", 67.

18   Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa* 28.

throated nation', noting that 'nothing would be more easy than to form a cho-
rus of the most delightful voices'.[19]

Whereas slaves held the lowest social position in a colonial society,[20] teach-
ing a slave to perform European music was not in contradiction with their social
status. In Europe, musicians were equally seen as servants.[21] The audience of
slave orchestras appreciated the professionalism and talent of slave musicians,
who were mainly admired for performing European music pieces. British mis-
sionary John Campbell remarked for instance, when visiting the Cape in 1815
and 1816, how 'the slaves sung as well as the people called Christians, which
means in South Africa, white people'.[22] Most overseas visitors were impressed
by the efforts slave owners made to create an experience of orchestra perfor-
mances which resembled those of European music culture. Dutch visitor to
the Cape Marten Douwes Teenstra wrote in 1825:

> We were pleasantly surprised by the music of sixteen musicians, who
> were all slaves of Miss Colijn; they performed a most perfect piece of field
> music (military music played by a brass band), with all the appropriate
> wind and other instruments, such as clarinets, flutes, trumpets, bassoon,
> percussion, cymbals and two large drums, and they played this all so well,
> as the best English corps in Cape Town could wish to perform.[23]

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19   Latrobe C.I., *Visit to the Cape of Good Hope in 1815 & 1816* (London: 1818) 68–69.

20   This is pointed out by Nigel Worden in "Public Brawling, Masculinity and Honour", in
      idem (ed.), *Cape Town Between East and West. Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial town*
      (Hilversum: 2012) 207.

21   For instance orchestral musicians in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Germany
      were treated as musicians and servants at the same time. Mahling C.H., "The Origin and
      Social Status of the Court Orchestral Musician in the 18th and 19th century in Germany",
      in Salmen W. (ed.), *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to
      the 19th Century* (New York: 1983) 249.

22   Campbell J., *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society*
      (London: 1816) 25.

23   Teenstra M.D., *De vruchten mijner werkzaamheden*, ed. F.C.L. Bosman (Cape Town: 1943)
      284. Original text in Dutch: 'Aardig werden wij verrast door de muzijk van een zestiental
      muzikanten, welke alle als lijfeigenen aan mejufvrouw Colijn toebehoorden; zij voerden
      eene volmaakte veldmuzijk (Militêre musiek deur middel van 'n 'brassband') uit, met al de
      daartoe benoodigde blaas- en andere instrumenten, als klarinetten, fluiten, trompetten,
      fagot, slagwerk, bekkens en twee groote trommen, en bespeelden dit alles zoo wel, als het
      beste Engelsche korps in de Kaapstad durfde denken'.

Slaves often played instruments imported from Europe or constructed at the Cape by European settlers. The import and production of European music instruments in the Cape Colony intensified in the eighteenth century with a peak in the nineteenth century.[24] The following account of Heinrich Lichtenstein as well as the account of Marten Douwes Teenstra quoted above show the large assemblage of European musical instruments available for slave orchestra performances at the Cape:

> They [the slaves] played first a chorus, and afterwards several marches and dances upon clarinets, French horns and bassoons. The instruments were good, and there was great reason altogether to be pleased with the performance, though much was wanting to render the harmony complete. They afterwards played upon violins, violoncellos and flutes, on which they performed equally well.[25]

The social context in which these slave orchestral musicians performed at the Cape suggests that music performances were conducted in a state of subjugation. Slave musicians were bought and assigned to entertain their masters, thus they portrayed through their performance the taste and status of their masters rather than a cultural identity of their own. In order to investigate a performance of cultural identity as endorsed by the slave community one needs to look at accounts describing the music performances of slaves in their spare time.

Diaspora Slave Music and the Development of Creole Subculture

Several accounts illustrate the rich and lively music culture slaves had in their own, limited spare time. These sources recount how slaves made music together on the farms or on the outskirts of the city of Cape Town. As Richard Renshaw, an officer in the British army on an expedition to South Africa in 1796, described:

> On Sundays they [the slaves] are allowed some degree of liberty, which they use in indulging themselves in their amusements; such as cock fighting and dancing. [...] Those slaves who prefer dancing generally assemble on a small plain under the Table Mountain; and to the beat-

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24   Boshoff A., "Slawe-orkeste en musiekinstrumente aan die Kaap", *South African Cultural History Museum Bulletin* 8 (1987) 50.

25   Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa* 28.

ing of an instrument which sounds like a struffled drum, they caper and jump with an astonishing degree of agility.[26]

During such informal musical performances, slaves played on their own crafted instruments, such as the *ramakienjo*[27] and the *ghoema* [see fig. 14.1].[28] Lady Anne Barnard indeed observed in 1799 how groups of slaves in Cape Town 'danced to their own musical accompaniment on the Sundays'.[29] In his memoirs, local resident Petrus Borcherds similarly recalls some musical performances by the slaves who, in the evenings, when they were relieved by some hours of rest, 'indulged in gossip in their own quarters or listened to the music of the ramakienjo on which one of them was greatly expert'.[30] The account of a British visiting civil servant to the Cape, William Bird, gives us another example of such a slave music culture. He writes in 1822:

> The grand display is in the outskirts of the town, to which the black population rush, on a Sunday, and go through their various awkward movements in quick or slow time, according to the taste of the dancers. The Sunday dance is accompanied by native music of every description. The slave boys from Madagascar and Mozambique bring the stringed instruments of their respective tribes and nation from which they *force* sounds, which *they* regard as melodious.[31]

Despite the condescending colonial perspective in these accounts, they do suggest that slaves performed the sounds, senses and culture of their

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26 Renshaw R., *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope and up the Red Sea with travels into Egypt, through the Desert, in the course of last war* (Manchester: 1804) 32–33.

27 The *ramakienjo* or *ramkie*, is a stringed instrument known to belong to the Khoi, the native people of the Cape, but also found to be adopted by slaves.

28 The word *ngoma* is the Swahili word for drum and used by many Bantu peoples living in the South Eastern parts of Africa. A linguistic link between the word *ghoema* used by the Cape slaves, of whom some had Mozambican roots, to describe their drum and the South East African word *ngoma* thus suggests a cultural cross-over from the east coasts of Africa to the Cape.

29 Cordeur B. Le – Lenta M. (eds.), *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard, 1799–1800*, vol. 2 (Cape Town: 1999) 283 in Harries P, "Making Mozbiekers. History, Memory and the African Diaspora at the Cape", in Zimba B. – Alpers E. – Isaacman A. (eds.), *Slaves Routes and Oral Tradition in Southeastern Africa* (Maputo: 2005) 105.

30 Borchers P.B., *Autobiographical Memoir* (Cape Town: 1861) 178. These recollections are from the time when he lived at his family farm in Stellenbosch from 1786–1801.

31 Bird W., State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822 (London: 1823) 166. My italics.

FIGURE 14.1   *Charles Bell, The Tom Tom dance—Mozambiques and mixed race. Watercolour.*
                13.5 × 22 cm. Cape Town, University of Cape Town Library, Bell Heritage Trust
                Collection, BC 686 C14.
                IMAGE © UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN LIBRARY.

ancestral homelands, thus presenting and advocating a Diaspora cultural
identity. The cultural transfer from the African continent to the New World
often consisted of music and song, as melodies and rhythms were easily
transportable.[32] This is true for the Trans-Atlantic World but equally for the
Indian Ocean World. 'Folkways such as music, song and dance were the princi-
ple vehicle for African memory and identity in the Indian Ocean world', argues
Edward Alpers.[33] Africans who migrated within the Indian Ocean world, vol-
untarily or involuntarily, transported their music and songs with them.[34] It
seems a similar cultural transfer occurred in the Cape Colony. African and
Asian slaves, transported to the Southern tip of Africa, could have taken their
music and rhythms with them as well. Contemporaries, at least, suggested
and believed that this was the case. As Heinrich Lichtenstein noted in 1803:

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32   Segal R., *Black Diaspora. Five Centuries of Black Experience Outside Africa* (New York: 1995);
      Manning P., *The African Diaspora. A History Through Culture* (New York: 2009).

33   Alpers E.A., "Recollecting Africa. Diasporic Memory in the Indian Ocean World", *African
      Studies Review* 43, 1 (2000) 90.

34   Ibidem.

'The numerous slaves from different nations, such as the Mozambicans and Madagascans and especially the Malay and Buganese[35] all have their own melodies and other intervals, which do not correspond to our diatonic scale'.[36]

Through performing this Diaspora musical heritage, it seems slaves were culturally distancing themselves from the European community, particularly as European colonists were usually puzzled and sometimes less taken by the non-diatonic scales of the slave music.[37] Perhaps caused by European misunderstandings of non-western musical tones or by a general dismissal of non-western musical forms, those slave dances or music performances were often described in negative phrasing. For instance the British settler Samuel Hudson, who arrived at the Cape in 1796, reported in his diary how slaves enjoyed themselves on free Sundays, describing their music as 'rude'.[38] British civil servant William Bird, quoted above, noted how slaves '*forced* sounds [from their stringed instruments], which *they* regard as melodious' (my italics).[39] In 1821 British traveller Edward Blount reported how such slave music performances led English observers 'to watch with fascination as they [the slaves] gyrated to an almost hypnotic rhythm beaten on a homemade drum, all at other times sinking into a low querulous murmur'.[40]

Such negative assessments of slave music culture can be found in many other colonial spheres where European settlers were confronted with non-European cultures.[41] Settlers' objections to slaves' supposedly 'rude' music or 'querulous' songs were not only based on an uneasiness with respect to

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35   The Bugis of southern Sulawesi.

36   Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa* in Godee Molsbergen E.C., *Reizen in Zuid Afrika in Hollandse Tijd*, vol. 2, *Tochten naar het Noorden 1686–1806* (The Hague: 1916) 250. Original text in Dutch: 'De talrijke slaven uit de onderscheidene natiën, zoo als de Mosambiquen, Madagaskers, doch inzonderheid de Maleijers en Bugonezen, hebben allen eigene melodieën en andere intervallen, die op onze diatonische toonladder niet voegen'.

37   'The use of Diaspora identity was often used as a separating marker from others in the same geographical colonial space', says James Clifford. Clifford J., "Indigenous Articulations", *The Contemporary Pacific* 13, 2 (2001). Quoted in Gqola P.D., *What is Slavery to Me? Postcolonial/Slave Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Johannesburg: 2001) 137.

38   Shell R. (ed.), "'Slaves,' an essay by Samuel Eusebius Hudson", Kronos 9 (1984) 44–70.

39   Bird, State of the Cape of Good Hope 166.

40   Blount E., *Notes on the Cape of Good Hope* (London: 1821) 107.

41   Shane and Graham White argue that 'there is a striking uniformity in white's [European settlers] reactions to African and African-American vocal [and instrumental] music not only in the United States across time, but also in the diaspora'. White S. – White G., "'Us Likes a Mixtery'. Listening to African American slave music", *Slavery & Abolition. A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 20, 3 (1999) 37.

non-western musical tones, but were also founded on differing expectations and ideas on the role of sound in musical performance and of the function of music per se. Instead of regarding music as an art form, meant for entertainment, music in many African societies is seen as a communication tool used to express every aspect of life.[42] This communication aspect becomes apparent in the popular 'call and response' style which is so typical of many African music cultures as well as slave music cultures. Instead of a pleasingly harmonic performance, musicians intentionally created differences in tone and rhythm as to mimic the different strings of speech within one conversation, thus creating space for a 'conversation' or exchange of thoughts and sounds.[43]

Paul Gilroy has argued that this musical exchange, borrowing and combining different Diasporic sounds, has led to the creation of a Creole culture. He states:

> The musics of the black Atlantic World were the primary expressions of cultural distinctiveness which this population seized upon and adapted to its new circumstances. It used these separate but converging musical traditions [...] to create itself anew as a conglomeration of black communities.[44]

The account of William Bird quoted above, as well as other accounts, suggest that slaves at the Cape performed their own Diasporic sounds during combined performances, converging these musical traditions from the Indian Ocean world into a combined, Creole slave music culture. Whereas the concept of creolisation was first introduced and used in the context of the Trans-Atlantic world, in particular the Caribbean, several scholars have argued that the concept can also be used to investigate and explain the development of hybrid communities and cultures in other parts of the World, for instance in

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42 Bebey F., *African Music. A People's Art* (London: 1975) 2–3. Quoted in White G. – White S., "African American slave music", *Slavery & Abolition. A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 20, 3 (1999) 31.

43 Shane and Graham White argue that this call and response music style can be found in many slave music cultures. They state: 'Differences in the pitch and timbre as between the drums and the other instruments [as played by slaves] would have made the rhythms of those musical instruments audible, allowing both dancers and other participants to hear and respond to the exciting musical conversations that were taking place'. White S. – White G., *The Sounds of Slavery. Discovering African American History Through Songs, Sermons, and Speech* (Boston: 2005) 145.

44 Gilroy P., "Sounds Authentic. Black Music, Ethnicity, and the Challenge of a Changing Same", *Black Music Research Journal* 11, 2 (1991) 115.

the Indian Ocean region.[45] Such hybrid or Creole cultures are regarded in the Trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean world as oppositional cultures opposed to a dominant colonial culture. Creole culture was seen as a means 'to cement relations between the different ethnic components of the slave society, and, in all situations, united them as a group against their common slave masters'.[46] This also seems to apply to the slave music culture as it developed at the Cape. This Creole music culture appears to have functioned as a separating marker as it stood in sharp contrast to the slave orchestra performances, enjoyed and stimulated by slave masters, and because it was predominantly performed in the slave community's own time, thus signalling a preference for this musical style.

Rainbow Balls and a Cape Creole Music Culture

However this musical conversation was not limited to an exchange of the Indian Ocean Diaspora sounds alone. As was said before, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cape Town was seen as a 'tavern of *two* oceans' and a place where cultures from East and West met and mingled. Much the same can be said for the Cape music culture. As described before, slaves were extensively exposed to European music styles and tones through the orchestra performances. Particularly the influence of the Dutch and British colonists is undeniable. However, most of those encounters were characterized by the unequal power relations between slave and slave master. Yet in the many taverns of this colonial port town a truly mixed music culture emerged, merging the Diaspora sounds from the Indian Ocean world with European music styles and diatonic scales. In contrast to the slave orchestra performances described above, the so-called rainbow balls (mixed dancing parties) were frequented not by the colonial elite but by Cape Town's lower classes. William Bird visited such a rainbow ball when he stayed at the Cape in 1822. He observed that:

> Whilst the public and private balls of the upper classes are going on, there are continual dances amongst the other orders, denominated rain-

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45   For example: Martin D.C., "A creolising South-Africa? Mixing, hybridity, and creolisation: (re)imagining the South African experience", *International Social Science Journal* 58, 187 (2006) 165–176; Martin D.C., *Sounding the Cape Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa* (Somerset West: 2013) or Medea L., "Creolisation and Globalisation in a Neo-Colonial Context. The Case of Re'union", *Social Identities. Journal of the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* 8, 1 (2002) 125–141.

46   Medea, "Creolisation and Globalisation" 126.

bow balls, composed of each different hue in this many coloured town. The females are chiefly slave girls of the first class, and girls who have acquired their freedom; and amongst the men are seen officers, merchants, and young Dutchmen.[47]

At such popular balls, slave musicians performed side by side with European musicians for an equally mixed audience.[48] The rainbow balls took place in dancing halls, or in the absence of such facilities mixed dancing parties could be found in the many taverns near the harbour. These were places where slaves, freed slaves, lower class colonists and sailors could meet, drink and dance together.[49] A local resident of the Cape in the late eighteenth century, Otto Mentzel, observed such mixed gatherings in Cape Town's harbour and noted how 'soldiers and sailors are readily given a few days leave to recuperate from the hardships of the voyage'. After having consumed some wine, 'these young men speedily part with their spare cash in visiting merry houses of entertainment in the company of female slaves'.[50] The Dutch sailor song "Oost-Indische Venus-Liedt" ("East-Indian Venus-song") speaks of such meetings between sailors and local girls in a Cape Town tavern.

> At the Cape, hear and understand,
> There the girls reside daily
> All in the house 'The Blue Rooster'[51]
> where we converse with them daily.
> A fresh rummer of Cape wine
> Will taste well for those who have money

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47 Bird, State of the Cape of Good Hope 165–166.

48 Musicologist Jan Bouws mentions a popular 'native band which consisted of Cape Malayans', which took turns with a European military band performing music at a ball in 1849 where 'both groups were then praised for their playing' in Bouws J., Die musieklewe *van Kaapstad 1800–1850 en sy verhouding tot die musiekkultuur van Wes-Europa* (Cape Town: 1966) 92.

49 Dooling W., "The Castle. Its place in the history of Cape Town in the VOC period", in Heyning E. van (ed.), *Studies in the History of Cape Town* 7 (Cape Town: 1994) 18. Kock V. De, *Those in Bondage. An Account of the Life of the Slave at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch India Company* (London: 1950) 91–92.

50 Mentzel O., *Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope* (1785), transl. by H.J. Mandelbrote (Cape Town: 1925) 80–81.

51 Historians Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith argue that 'De Blaauwe Haan' was a well-known tavern in Cape Town. Worden N. – Heyningen E. – Bickford-Smith V., *Cape Town. The Making of a City. An Illustrated Social History* (Cape Town: 1998) 54.

> So one can taste right away
> the fruits of the Cape soil.[52]

It was probably during those moments of informal contact between slaves and European colonists and sailors that a larger Creole music culture developed, merging not only the Indian Ocean Diaspora sounds but also the European sounds.[53] In my view this Cape Creole music culture developed combining European compositions with music instruments and non-diatonic scales from the slave community. Slaves who performed in the taverns of Cape Town played on European as well as their own musical instruments.[54] Ethnomusicologist Denis-Constant Martin equally argues that at the Cape:

> Slaves danced to various types of music which may have retained for some time elements of the musical cultures they came from, but it is highly probable that they infused something of their own musical feeling in the way they performed European dances.[55]

Slaves also sang and appropriated Dutch or English folk songs and melodies which they overheard in taverns, during rainbow balls or in other informal settings.[56] South African folklorists have pointed out that indeed most folk

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52   *Het Oudt Haerlems Liedt-Boeck, Inhoudende Vele Historiale ende Amoureuse Liedekens, Oock Tafel, Bruyloft ende Scheydt-Liedekens* (Amsterdam, Jacobus Bouman: 1680) 43. Also published in later songbooks such as: *De nieuwe overtoompze markt-schipper ofte de vrolyke overtoompse vis-boer* (Amsterdam, Hendrik van der Putte: 1766) 92. See for more publications of this song, the Dutch Song Database online: http://www.liederenbank.nl. These lyrics are also published in Worden – Heyningen – Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town. The Making of a City* 54. Original text: 'Aan de Caap hoord en wilt verstaan / Daar de meisjes dagelycks verkeeren / Al in het huys De Blaauwe Haan / Daar wyze dagelyks converzeeren. / Een frissche roemer Kaapsche wyn / Zal hem, die geld heeft, smaaklyk zijn. / Zo proeft men reeds op d'eersten stond / De vruchten van de Kaapschen grond'.

53   Denis-Constant Martin argues that such meetings in taverns and bars was 'the cradle of a Creole society'. Martin, *Coon Carnival* 53–54.

54   Kock, *Those in Bondage* 91–92.

55   Martin, *Coon Carnival* 60.

56   Folklorist Izak David du Plessis argues that 'as fishermen in contact with vessels passing through, and as chosen servants of the burghers, they [the slaves] had ample opportunity to learn those songs which the Dutch brought out with them'. Du Plessis I.D, *The Cape Malays: History, Religion, Traditions, Folktales: the Malay Quarter* (Cape Town: 1972) 40. He argues that new songs were constantly introduced in Cape Town by sailors and enthusiastically taken up by the Coloured (slave) community. Du Plessis I.D., *Die bijdrae van die Kaapse Maleier tot die Afrikaanse volkslied* (Cape Town: 1935) 32. Folklorist Theodore Schonken points out that in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth

melodies and songs sang by the white European community were also known to the (freed) slave and Khoikhoi communities and vice versa.[57] Songs like "Aljander al deur die bos" ("Aljander through the woods"); "Môre Oompie, Môre Tannie" ("Morning Uncle, Morning Aunt") and "Daar kom die wâ" ("There comes the wagon") were sung by the descendants[58] of both communities.[59]

Sometimes slaves changed the composition of a song to fit the music piece to their own taste, as for example the following account by a British lieutenant stationed at the Cape indicates:

> Sometimes when our servant girls happened to hear some air played on the flute which struck their fancy, I was agreeably surprised to find it sung all over the neighbourhood, with the addition of a second of their own composing.[60]

Creole subcultures were usually not confined to the slave community alone.[61] In the Trans-Atlantic World, 'black people [i.e. slaves] interacted with white

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century, music at picnics and other informal parties in the countryside was mostly performed by Coloured servants, similar to the situation as it existed at the Cape in the eighteenth century. Schonken T., *De oorsprong der Kaapsch-Hollandse volksoverleveringen* (Cape Town: 1914) 21.

57   Theodore Schonken points out that parts of comic songs and rhymes which originated within the Coloured community were also known to the Afrikaner community. Examples which he mentions are songs such as "Al sla my ma my neer" and "Trein naar Mamerie". Schonken, *Kaapsch-Hollandse volksoverleveringen* 144. The folklorist Stephanus Du Toit equally argues that the folk songs of the Khoi and Coloured community found their way into the European community through the performance of Coloured musicians at weddings and dance parties of European settlers. Du Toit S.J., *Suid-Afrikaanse volkspoësie. Bijdrae tot die Suid-Afrikaanse volkskunde* (Cape Town: 1924) 172. Folklorist Izak David du Plessis has shown that many songs as sung by the Afrikaner community can also be found amongst the Coloured community. Du Plessis, *Die bijdrae van die Kaapse Maleier* 19, 48, 74–75.

58   Most folk songs, their melody and lyrics, were collected and published by folklorists working at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. We have few lyrics published before Emancipation in 1834. However, these early folklorist such as Schonken and Du Plessis as well as later musicologists (Winberg and Martin) and the Coloured community itself believe these songs to be much older and created at the Cape during times of slavery. Winberg C., "Satire, Slavery and the Ghoemaliedjies of the Cape Muslims", *New Contrast* 76 (1991) 78–96; Martin, *Coon Carnival* 49.

59   Du Plessis, *Die bijdrae van die Kaapse Maleier* 105–107, 115.

60   Moodie J.W.D. Lt., *Ten Years in South Africa* (London: 1835).

61   Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* 102. Gilroy, "Sounds Authentic", 115.

communities under conditions where neither group was a master class'.[62] The same can be said for the Cape. The subculture which developed through interaction and cultural exchange between slaves, freed slaves and lower-class colonists, for instance in the harbour taverns and at rainbow balls as described above, was regarded as subordinate by other European colonists. For example, in 1789 a German VOC servant expressed his disdain for the in his view scenes of rowdyism and promiscuous behaviour found at such mixed musical gatherings frequented by sailors soldiers and slaves.

> There are a number of public whores' inns at the Cape where a bottle of wine costs 7 groschen and a bottle of beer 4. A whole troop of brown whores are to be found there, who with their gallants divert themselves with dancing and singing. A man from Halberstadt who acted as surgeon in the hospital took me with him to such an inn. I couldn't help laughing on entering the room when I saw five such black spirits sitting a gallery, attempting to rouse their male and female dancers with some certainly not pleasant music. Here with us [in Germany] certainly no apprentice would dance to such fiddling, while in contrast, men aspiring to some standing, who often occupy considerable posts as well, are able to amuse themselves splendidly with their brown African women. Germans are completely indifferent in this country.[63]

William Bird also expressed his own apprehension of this emerging Creole culture in 1822, when he stated: 'It cannot be pretended that these meetings [rainbow balls] add to the morals of the town'.[64] Historian Nigel Worden states that indeed the upper and middle classes of Cape Town were worried to see their washerwomen and domestic servants, 'some of whom were white', mixing with slaves and freed slaves at such rainbow balls [and other informal settings].[65] It was not the fact that slaves learned and adopted European music repertoires which was seen as threatening to the social or cultural status of the colonial elite. Rather it was the creolisation of lower-class white settlers and the development of a subordinate Cape Creole culture, which was

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62   Manning, *The African Diaspora* 5.

63   Jäntzsch, C.C.F., *Freunden und Jammer, oder Seltsame Lebensgeschichte eines Leipzigers; zur Aufrechthaltung einer unglücklichen Familie* (Berlin: Auf Kosten einer Gessellschafts Menschenfreunde, 1790) 300–301. Cited in Karel Schoeman, *Portrait of a Slave Society. The Cape of Goop Hope, 1717–1795* (Pretoria: 2012) 519–520.

64   Bird, State of the Cape of Good Hope 166.

65   Worden, *Cape Town. The Making of a City* 195.

publically performed through music and folk songs, which the colonial elite found displeasing.

But what did this process of musical interaction and appropriation mean for the ways in which the slave community used music to create, negotiate and advocate a cultural identity? Slave musicians had a dual position in the cultural life of the Cape Colony. As musicians in larger slave orchestras, they were renowned and appreciated for performing European music. As frequent guests as well as musicians at the so-called rainbow balls where a Cape Creole music was performed, they represented the development of this hybrid subordinate subculture. This Cape Creole music culture, which developed through the interaction between slaves and lower-class colonists, did not hold a prominent position within the cultural landscape of the Cape Colony. Thus, by performing and adopting the folk songs and other cultural habits of the European settlers, the slave community did not conform or subject to colonial rule and culture. Rather, through this subordinate music culture this slave community was able to publicly perform and advocate their truly Creole Capetonian reality.

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